

English Reprints

SIR THOMAS MORE

Utopia

Originally Printed in Latin, 1516

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

RALPH ROBINSON

SOMETIME FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

HIS Second and Revised Edition, 1556: preceded by
the Title and Epistle of his First Edition

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INTRODUCTION.



TOPIA—probably written the second book at Antwerp about November 1515, and the first in London in the early part of 1516—was first published abroad. It was printed by Theodore Martin at Louvain, under the editorship of Erasmus, *Ægidius*, *Paludanus* and other of More's friends in Flanders, towards the end of 1516.

More then revised it, and, through Erasmus, it was sent to John Frobenius at Basle to print. This more sumptuous and, as regards authorship, second edition—probably containing the standard text—bears the date of November 1518. In the meantime however, a friend of Erasmus, the Englishman Thomas Lupset, brought out a reprint of the first edition at Paris, which was printed by Gilles de Gourmont before March 1518; and which is therefore in point of time, the second edition, the Basle one, being the third, and one at Vienna in 1519, the fourth in order of appearance. All four were in Latin, then the common familiar language of the learned.

By a strange fate, not a single copy of this work, in any language whatsoever, was printed in England in More's lifetime: or indeed prior to these English versions of Ralph Robinson. Yet—despite its original Latin garb—the work is essentially English, and will ever reckon among the treasures of our literature.

Without some acquaintance with Sir Thomas More's life, one might be apt to assume *Utopia* to be entirely his own work, and the persons named in it to be fictitious. He wrote the letter to Petrus *Ægidius*, and the two books of Raphael's communication. Erasmus' letter to Frobenius (not here translated) was printed by him in the Basle edition of 1518. The following also contributed to the earlier Latin editions.

PETRUS *ÆGIDIUS*, the PETER GILES of this translation, [b. 1490—d. 1555], secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. *Wrote a letter translated at pp 163-166*

JOHN CLEMENT [d. 1 July 1572] at the time More's attendant, afterwards Professor of Greek at Oxford. *See p. 23*

JOHN PALUDANUS, *Cassilensis* 'an ancient friend' of Erasmus, p. 7: contributed to the first edition, a letter and a poem *not translated by Robinson*

JEROME BUSLEYDEN, latinized *BUSLIDIUS* [b. 1470—d. 27 Aug 1517] a rich

generous *diplomate* Founder of the College of the three languages (Latin Greek, Hebrew), at Louvain He wrote a letter to More, *not translated by Robinson*

GERARD BRONCHROST, of Nimeguen in Latin NOVIOMAGUS [b 1494—d 1570]. Semetime Mathematical Professor at Rostock, wrote a short poem, *see p. 167*

CORNELIUS SCHRYVER, latinized GRAPHÆUS [b 1482—d 19 Dec 1558] made in 1533 secretary to the municipality of Antwerp, also contributed a short poem, *see p. 167*

WILLIAM BUDÉ, latinized BUDÆUS or BUDÆUS [b 1467—d 23 Aug 1540] the most learned Frenchman of his time His letter to Lupset first appeared in the Paris edition of 1518, *not included by Robinson*

THOMAS LUPSET [b 1498—d 27 Dec 1532] While studying at Paris edits second edition of *Utopia*. Afterwards becomes Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford

Utopia is worthy of multifomed study Not only from its reflection of the character, principles, and merry wit of its author; from its proposed solutions of such social problems, as the scarcity or overplus of population, the prevention of famines, and the like: but also from its reference of the condition of the poor, especially the 'bondmen,' the then dying out 'villenage' of England, from its allusions to the late, as well as to the present English king; from its survey of Continental politics in 1516: and on other accounts.

The furthest discovery of Amerigo Vespucci in his fourth voyage, along the coast-line of Brazil, appears to have been Cape Frio. Sir Thomas More apparently refers to Deodati's collection, in speaking of 'those ill. voyages that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes;' which, in Latin, was first published in 1507, under the title of *Quattvor America Vespuctii Navagationes*. Near the end of this tract is the following account of what occurred on 3 April, 1504.

Relictus igitur in castello praefato Christicolis. xxiiij. et cum illis. xij machinis ac alijs plurimus armis/ vna cum prouisione pro sexe mensibus sufficiente/ . . .

On this passage More hangs his whole fiction. This is the carefully concealed starting-point of the imaginary portion of his work Thence the Portuguese Hythlodaeus wanders to the island of 'Nowhere,' which to More's mind was 'beyond the line equinoctial' between Brazil and India. There for five years and more Hythlodaeus studied the laws and habits of a community (allowing the very low average of 20 persons to each of the 6000 households of the 54 cities) of 6,500,000

persons; not including their countrey population or outlyng 'forreyne towns.' At length, returning home from India in the Portuguse fleet, Hythlodaye is represented as introduced by Peter Ægidius to More in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral: whence all three adjourn to the garden in Sir Thomas' house, where, on a bēnch 'covered with torues' they, with John Clement, listen a whole day to the story of Hythlodaye: the contents of the first book being recounted before dinner: and those of the seconnd between dinner and supper.

Hythlodaye may well say 'that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicause their speche kepereth dyuers signes and tokens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magistrates:' as, for example, the following:—

ENGLISH.	LATIN	GREEK.
Utopia	Utopia [=Nusquama]	οὐ, no; τόπος, place.
Hythlodaye	Hythlodæus	ὕθλος [=nugæ] nonsense.
Achoriens	Anchorii	ἄχοπος, joyless, wretched.
Macariens	Macarensii	μάκαρ, blessed, happy.
Amaurot	Amaurotus	ἀμαυρός, shadowy, unknown.
Anyder	Anydrus	ἀνυδρός, waterless
Phylarch	Phylarchus	φῦλος αρχή, chief of the tribe.

There is an essental difference of purpose in the somewhat simila works of Plato and More. In the *Republic*, Plato, in the person of Socrates, endeavours 'thoroughly to investigate the real nature of justice and injustice,' by first investigating their character in cities, and afterwards by applying 'the same inquiry to the individual, looking for the counterpart of the greater as it exists in the form of the less'† More, in the person of Hythlodaye, looking round the world, perceives nothing 'but a certein confíspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth.'‡ Plato endeavours to attain to an exact idea of an abstract vertue: More seeks to devise a system in which the poor shall not perish for lack, nor the rich be idle through excuse of their riches: in which *every one* is *equally* of the commonwealth, and in which the commonwealth posses only a common wealth.

¶ 118 † *The Republic of Plato* Ed by J L DAVIES, M.A., and
D. J VAUGHAN, M.A. p 52. 3rd Ed 1866. ‡ p. 159

Circumstances
connected with the earlier issues
of
UTOPIA.

Referred to in *Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII* Arranged and Catalogued by Rev J S BRLWER, M A London, 1864

1515 [Feb ?] [London?] MORE to ERASMUS *Letters, &c* ii 430
More's embassy has been successful, but tedious, has been away more than six months. Has formed a close intimacy with Pet. Giles [Ægidius] of Antwerp

1516 Oct 31 London MORE to ERASMUS ii 777
The *Epistola Obscurorum Virorum* is popular everywhere. Is glad that Peter [Ægidius] likes his *Nusquamia* [Utopia] Wishes to hear if Tunstal approves of it, and other judges

1516 Nov 12 Louvain GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS (of Nimeguen) to ERASMUS ii 793
His friend Theodoricus [Martin] will undertake to print the *Utopia*. Paludanus will show him a cut of the island by a great painter, if Erasmus desire any alterations

1516 Nov. 18 Brussels ERASMUS to PETER ÆGIDIUS ii 796
Utopia is in the printer's hands.

1516 [?] Mechlin JEROME BUSLIDANUS to MORE ii 814
In praise of his *Utopia*

1516 [?] London MORE to PETRUS ÆGIDIUS ii 896
Letter Translated by Robinson at pp 21-26

1516 Dec ? The *Editio princeps* appears *Libellus vere aureus nec manus salutaris quam festinus, de optimo reip: statu deque noua Insula Utopia*. It has no pagination. (1) First comes the picture-chart of the island above referred to, (2) Then the Utopian alphabet, in which A to L are represented by circles or curves, M by a triangle, and N to Y by rectangles or portions thereof dashes being used in connection with these for further diversity (3) Then we have Anemolus' Utopian Hekastichon, see p 167, (4) Then Ægidius' letter to Busleyden, see pp 163-166, (5) Then another letter to him, from John Paludanus, who also contributes a poem, neither of which were included in Robinson's translation, (6) Then a poem by Gerardus Noviomagus, *De Utopia*, see p 167, (7) Then the poem of Cornelius Graphæus, *Ad lectorem*, see p 167, (8) Then Busleyden's letter to Thomas More, (not included in Robinson's translation), (9) Then More's letter to Ægidius, see pp 21-26, (10) Then the Text, in two books]

1517 [?] More to TUNSTAL ii 1541
His last letters were the most delightful he ever received from him, as they spoke so highly of his *Republ. (Utopia)* Trusts they were as sincere as candid Was afraid, among his many avocations, he would not have time for such trifles, nor could he have done so except out of partiality Is glad he is pleased with the work, and not less for his candid advice

1517. Jan. 13. London. MORE to ERASMUS ii 891
Begs Erasmus will thank Paludanus and Giles [Ægidius].

1517 Feb 24 Antwerp ERASMUS to WILLIAM COPE ii 953
Begs him to send for More's *Utopia*, if he has not yet read it, and wishes to see the true source of all political evils [This proves the publication of the first edition before this date]

1517 Mar 1 Antwerp ERASMUS to MORE ii 958
Sends one letter to Marlianus, who imagined that the first book of *Utopia* was written by Erasmus. As soon as More has corrected the *Utopia*, Erasmus will send the MS to Basle or Paris

1517 Mar 8 Antwerp ERASMUS to MORE ii 963
'Send the *Utopia* at your earliest opportunity. A burgo-master at Antwerp is so pleased with it that he knows it all by heart'

1517. [?] London MORE to ERASMUS ii 913
Sent his *Utopia* some time since, and is delighted to hear it will come out in a magnificent form

1517 July 31 Paris GULIELMUS BUDÆUS to THOMAS LUPSET ii 1124
Thanks him for a copy of More's *Utopia*. Long commendation of the *Utopia* [Printed in both editions of 1518.]

1517 Aug 25 Louvain ERASMUS to JOHN FROBENIUS ii 1147
Sends *Utopia* for Frobenius to print.

1517. [?] ERASMUS to MORE ii 1090
Has sent More's *Epigrams* and *Utopia* to Basle.

1517 Aug 28 Antwerp FRANCIS CHIEREGATO to ERASMUS ii 1151
On his leaving England for Rome, to avoid the sweating sickness, touched at Antwerp and heard that Erasmus was staying with Petrus *Ægidius*, secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. On calling heard that Erasmus had started the day before for Louvain

1517. [?] London MORE to ERASMUS ii 1155
Is in the clouds with the dream of the government to be offered him by his Utopians, fancies himself a grand poten-tate, with a crown and a Franciscan cloak (*paludamentum*), followed by a grand procession of the Amauri. Should it please Heaven to exalt him to this high dignity, where he will be too high to think of common acquaintances, he will still keep a corner in his heart for Erasmus and Tunstall, and should they pay him a visit to Utopia, he will make all his subjects honor them as is befitting the friends of majesty. The morn has dawned and dispelled his dream, and stripped off his royalty, plunging him down into his old mull-round at the Court

1517 Aug 31 Louvain ERASMUS to TUNSTAL ii 1154
Has taken up his abode at Louvain, and is on good terms with the theologians. Is staying with Paludanus, his ancient friend, but wants to find more room for his books

1517 Sept 3. MORE to ERASMUS ii 1157
Sends his *Utopia* (*Nusquamam nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te mutto*)

1517 Sept 15 Paris. THOMAS LUPSET to ERASMUS ii 1162.
Intends getting a new edition of More's *Utopia* printed

1517. Dec 15. London MORE to ERASMUS ii 1201
Expects his *Utopia*

1518. Mar 5 Louvain ERASMUS to MORE, ii 1238
The printers at Basle excuse their delay in the *Utopia* by reason of the preface added by Budæus [This is the third edition.] Has seen a French edition of the *Utopia* [Lupset's edition, printed by Gilles de Gourmont at Paris, must therefore rank as the second in point of time, but is only a reprint of the Louvain edition of 1516.]

1518. Nov [Date of the Basle edition, third in point of time, second as regards authorship. It omits Paludanus' letter and poem of the first edition, and has in addition the above mentioned letters from Erasmus to Frobenius, and from Budé to Lupset. This edition therefore embodying also More's corrections of the previous year, is at once the most complete and most correct published in his lifetime.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Utopia.

Editions not seen

For the earliest Latin editions, see pp 6, 7. Space does not permit detailing other Latin, or the French, German, Italian, and Spanish editions that have appeared

ENGLISH EDITIONS

(a) *Issues in the Author's lifetime.*

None.

(b) *Issues since the Author's death.*

RALPH ROBINSON'S TRANSLATION.

I *As a separate publication*

1 1551 London 1 vol 8vo *Earliest translation*: see title at p 12
2 1556 London 1 vol 8vo *Second and revised translation*. see title at p 17
3 1597 London 1 vol 4to *A most pleasant fruitfull and wittie worke, of the best state of a publicke weale, and of the new Yle called Utopia*
And now this third edition, newly corrected and amended
4 1624 London Sir T More's *Utopia*. Now after many Impressions,
1 vol 4to newly corrected and purged of all errors hapned in the former
edition. Printed by BER ALSO^R who dedicates it to *Cresacre More, of More place in North Mimes in the countie of Hertford*, Esquire, next in Bloud to Sir Thomas More,
5 1639 London *The Commonwealth of Utopia*. Another edition of
1 vol 12mo No 4
14 1808 London *Utopia* . With copious Notes, and a Biographical and
1 vol 4to Literary Introduction. By the Rev T F DIBDIN, F S A.
A reprint on the text of 1639, No 5, which is itself a reprint
of Alsop's of 1624, collated with Edition of 1551, No 1
18 Mar 1869 London 1 vol 8vo *English Reprints* see title at p 1

BP GILBERT BURNETT'S TRANSLATION.

I *As a separate publication*

6 1684 London *Utopia* translated into English
1 vol 8vo
7 1737 Dublin *Utopia* To this edition is added, a short account of
1 vol 12mo Sir Thomas More's Life and his Trial
8 1743 Glasgow *Utopia or the Happy Republic*, a Philosophical Romance,
1 vol 8vo in two books
9 1751 Oxford *Utopia* Revis'd, corrected and greatly improv'd
1 vol 12mo by THOMAS WILLIAMSON
10 1753 Oxford *Utopia* The whole revis'd, corrected, and improv'd
1 vol 12mo by A GENTLEMAN of OXFORD. A reprint of No 9
12 *1808 London *Utopia or the Best state of a Commonwealth*, *Dibdin*,
1 vol 8vo *clxxix of No 14*
16 *1849 London *Utopia or the Happy Republic*, *London Catalogue*.
1 vol 12mo
17 1850 London *The Phoenix Library*, selected by JOHN MINTER MOR-
1 vol 12mo GAN *Utopia, or The Happy Republic*

II *With other works*

11 1758 London *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More* . To which
1 vol 8vo is added, his *History of Utopia*, with notes historical
and explanatory by F WARNER, LL D
15 1838 London *The Masterpieces of Prose Literature* Vol 11. *Utopia*.
1 vol 8vo or the Happy Republic, with Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis*.
With a preliminary discourse by J A ST JOHN, Esqre.

ARTHUR CAYLEY'S (the younger) TRANSLATION

II *With other works*

13 1808 London *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More*, with a new translation of
a vols 4to his *Utopia*, his *History of King Richard III*, and his
Latin Poems *Utopia* occupies 11-145

The
LIFE and TRAVELS
of
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE.

Probable or approximate dates

Based chiefly—besides the present work—on *Amerigo Vespucci, Son caractère, ses écrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations*; by F A DE VARNHAGEN, Brazilian Minister to Peru, Chile, and Ecuador, &c. Lima, 1865, fol. See also *The Life and Voyages of Americus Vespuccius*, by C E LESTER and A FOSTER New York, 1846, 8vo

The same Raphael Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue . but profounde and excellent in the Greke tongue . His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugal borne) p 29 As concerning my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently doone my parte towardes them already p 33

As concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I traualled abroade abouthe the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylenites [Polylenitæ], p 47.

1494 April The King of Spain throws open the trade and navigation of the Indies to all ships taking their departure from Cadiz

*1495 "There [z e in England] I taried for the space of iii or v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yat the Westerne Englishe men made agaynst their King" p 36

He stays with Cardinal Morton. At p 37-54, he gives an account of a table-talk, one day while he was in his house

1497 May 10 The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci [b 9 Mar 1451-d 22 Feb 1512], in the employ of the King of Spain, leaves Cadiz with 4 ships This, his first voyage, was chiefly about the Gulf of Mexico He returns to Cadiz 15 October 1498

1499 May Vespucci—again in the service of Spain—leaves Cadiz. This voyage, in part with Alonzo de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa, brought him to the mainland of South America.

1500 Sept. Hythlodaye, 'for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he soyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the iii last voyages of those in he continued styl in his company' p 29

1501 May 14 Vespucci—entering the service of the king of Portugal—leaves Lisbon on his *third* voyage, in which he continues his discoveries along the coast of Brazil He returns to Lisbon

1502 Sept 7 Vespucci—still in the service of the king of Portugal—commands a ship in a squadron of 6 ships, under Gonçalo de Coelho

1503 May [June?] 10 Hythloday says, "When I was determinyd to entre into my iii. voyage, I caste into the shippes in the steade of marchandise a pretty fardel of booke, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly"—See list at p. 119

"Also my companion, Tricus Apinatus carred with him phisick booke." p 119

The squadron crossed the line, and on 10th Aug saw distinctly on the horizon an island—which can be no other than Fernando de Noronha The flag-ship, of 300 tons was wrecked on a rock near the island, but happily the crew were

saved Vespucci, then 4 leagues from the island, was ordered to find in it a harbour. He mussed the island and lost sight of the other ships. After 8 days however, he saw a sail on the horizon, which on joining proved to be one of them. Both vessels then returned to the island, and found the other three ships gone, anchored, took in wood, &c., and then set out for the appointed rendezvous in case of separation. Bahia, discovered in the previous voyage. There they arrived in 18 days, and waited for 2 months and 14 days. At length tired of the delay, the two commanders determined to explore the coast ahead. Sailing southward, they at length stopped at a port, which, (according to Varnhagen), can be no other than Cape Frio. Here they found a quantity of dye-wood (brazil), with which they loaded their ships, during a stay of 5 months.

1503 Sept.,
Oct

1503 Nov

1504 Mar

1504 April 3

1504 June 18

Before returning, they left a little factory of 24 armed men in a fortress armed with 12 guns. Then setting out, in 77 days reached Lisbon on 18 June 1503, bring the earliest tidings of either themselves or their missing consorts, which on 4 Sept. 1504, Vespucci believed to be all lost. [Condensed from Varnhagen, pp. 114, 115.]

Hythlodaeus 'gotte the licence of mayster Americke (though it was sore agains this wyl) to be one of the xxiiii whiche in the ende of the laste voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike.'

p. 30

After the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had traualled through and aboute many Countreyes with v. of his companions Gulikanes [i.e. of the above 24, one of these five was the above named Tricius Apinatus, p. 119] p. 30

1505- 1510

If you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presently sene their fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there v. years, and moore, and wolde never haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knownen here. p. 69

Amaurote wherein I liued fwe whole yeaeres together. p. 77

The ACHORIENS [Achori], whiche be situate ouer agaynst the Iland of Utopia on the south easte side p. 57

The MACARIENS [Macarens] which be not farre distaun from Utopia p. 62

The ANEMOLIANES [Anemolu] dwell farre thence, and had vere little a[c]quaintance with the Utopians p. 101

The battell whiche the Utopians fought for the NEPHO-GETES [Nephelogegetæ] against the ALAOPOLITANES [Alaopo-iteæ] a little before oure time. The Nephelogegetes before the warre, when the Alaoopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them pp. 132, 133

The ZAPOLETES [Zapoletaæ] This people is 500 myles from Utopia easteawarde p. 136

Hythlodaeus marries the aunt of Anemolus, the Poet Laureate of Utopia p. 167

But because amg vs four (for no mo of vs was left aliue, two of our compayne beyng dead) there was no priest, at my departure p. 144

At the last by merueylyous chaunce he [Hythlodaeus] arrived in Trapobane [Ceylon] from whence he went to Caliquit [Cali cut], where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countrey shippes, wherein he retourned agayne to his Countreye, no thinge lesse then looked for p. 30

Sir T More meeting Hythlodaeus in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral, describes him as 'A man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwth I judged to bee a mariner' p. 29

'Very wncertain newes' (!) subsequently of Hythlodaeus p. 165

1515 *Nov

1516. Nov 1

A fruteful /

and pleasaunt worke of the
deste state of a publyque weale, and
of the newe yle called Utopia: written
in Latine by Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englyshe
by Raphé Robynson Citezien and
Goldsmythe of London, at the
procurement, and earnest re-
quest of George Tadlowe
Citezien and Haberdassher
of the same Citle.

(. . .)

Imprinted at London
by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Paule
churcheyarde at the sygne of
the Lambe. Anno,

1551.



To the right

honourable, and his verie sin-
guler good maister, maister William
Cecylle esquier, one of the twoo prin-
cipall secretaries to the kyng his moste
excellente maestie, Raphe Robynson
wissmeth continuance of health,
with dayly increase of ver-
tue, and honoure.



Pon a tyme, when tidynges came too the
citiie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father
to Alexander furnameyd ye Great, was
comming thetherwarde with an armie
royall to lay siege to the citie. The Cor-
inthians being forth with ftryken with greate feare,
beganne busifie, and earnestly to looke aboute them, and
to falle to worke of all handes. Some to skowre and
trymme vp harneis, some to carry stones, some to
amende and buylde hygher the walles, some to ram-
piere and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortresses, some
one thynge, and some an other for the defendinge, and
strengthenyng of the citie. The whiche busie labour,
and toyle of theires when Diogenes the phylosopher
fawe, hauing no profitable busines whereupon to fette
himself on worke (neither any man required his
labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth
in that neccesfitie) immediatly girded about him his
phylosophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble vp
and downe hether and thether vpon the hille syde, that
lieth adioyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne,
wherin he dwelled: for other dwellyng place wold

he haue none. This seing one of his frendes, and not a litell musyng therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doest thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycause it where no reason yat I only should be ydell, where so many be working. In semblable maner, right honorable sir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche lesse habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that shall or may be for the auaunce-ment and commoditie of the publique wealth of my natuue countrey: yet I seing euery sort, and kynde of people in theire vocation, and degree busilie occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and espe-cially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inuention, and deuises to the furtheraunce of the same: thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey so to tumble my tubbe, I meane so to occupie, and exercise meself in bestowing such spare houres, as I beinge at ye becke, and commaundement of others, cold conueniently winne to me self: yat though no commoditie of that my labour, and trauaile to the publique weale should arise, yet it myght by this appeare, yat myne endeuoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accomplishemet therfore, and fulfyllyng of this my mynde, and purpose: I toke vpon me to tourne, and translate oute of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which sir Thomas more knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and setting forth ye best state, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almost fourtie yeres ago by the said sir Thomas More ye authour therof. The whiche man, forasmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almost of thies our dayes: and for ye excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for ye high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably wel knownen, not only among vs his countreman, but also in forrein countreis and nations therfore I

haue not much to speake of him. This only I faye: yat it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of vs English men, yat a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet neuerthelesse so much blinded, rather with obstinacie, then with ignoraunce yat he could not or rather would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion. but did rather cheufe to perseuer, and continue in his wilfull and stubbourne obstinacie euen to ye very death. This I say is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter passe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I said befor) is a work not only for ye matter yat it conteineth fruteful and profitable, but also for ye writers eloquent latine stile pleasaunt and delectable. Which he yat readeth in latine, as ye authour himself wrote it, perfectly vnderstanding ye same: doubtles he shal take great pleasure, and delite both in ye sweete eloquence of ye writer, and also in ye wittie inuencion, and fine conueiaunce, or disposition of ye matter but most of all in the good, and holsome lessons, which be there in great plenty, and abounding. But nowe I feare greatly yat in this my simple translation through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our english tonge all the grace and pleasure of ye eloquence, wherwith ye matter in latine is finely set forth may feme to be vtterly excluded, and lost: and therfore the frutefulnes of the matter it selfe muche peraduenture diminished, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent stile setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other side rude, and vnlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wise man say. A good tale euel tolde were better vntold, and an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other follicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing, and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my translation was fully determined neuer

to haue put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certain frendes of myne, and especially one, whom aboue al other I regarded, a man of sage, and discret witte and in wor[l]dly matters by long vse well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizein of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation. at whoes request, and instaunce I first toke vpon my weake, and feble sholders ye heauie, and weightie bourdein of this great enterprize. This man with diuers other, but this man chiefely (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought ye worke to an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible continualy to as fault me, vntil he had at ye laste, what by ye force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consent to the impryntyng herof He therfore, as the chiefe persuadour, must take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde, and rashe enterpryse shall ensue I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquytte, and discharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr for the better auoyding of enuyous and malycyous tonges, I (knowyng you to be a man, not onlye profoundely learned, and well affected towardes all suche, as eyther canne, or wyll take paynes in ye well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but also for youre godlye dysposytyon, and vertuous qualytyes not vnworthelye nowe placed in aucthorytye, and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate vnto youre good mayster shyppe thys my symple woorke. Partly that vnder the sauffe conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can say well by nothing, that pleafeth not their fond, and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutefull and godly. and partlye that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe, and reuiue (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) yat old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in

the time of our childhode, being then scolefellowes together. Not doubting that you for your natvie goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towardes you is not by reason of long tract of time, and separation of our bodies any thinge at all quayled and diminished, but rather (I affuer you) much augmented, and increased. This verely is ye chieffe cause, yat hath incouraged me to be so bolde with youre maistershippe. Els truelye this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part vndeserued, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifullly shewed . neither yet fitte, and mete for the very basenes of it to be offered to one so worthy, as you be . But almighty god (who therfore euer be thanked) hath auaunced you to such fortune, and dignity, that you be of habillity to accept thankefullly afwell a mans good will as his gift. The fame god graunte you and all yours long, and ioyfully
to contynue in all godlynes
and prosperetye.

(..)

A frutefull
pleasaunt, and wittie wor^l
of the beste state of a publiq
weale, and of the newe yle, called A
pia: written in Latine, by the right w^t
thie and famous Syr Thomas Mi
knyght, and translated into Englishe
Raphe Robynson, sometime fellow
of Corpus Christi College in Ox-
ford, and nowe by him at this se-
conde edition newlie peru-
sed and corrected, and
also with diuers no-
tes in the margent
augmented.

Imprinted at London, by
Abraham Uele, dwellinge in
Pauls churchyard, at the signe
of the Lambe.

I The translator to the gentle reader.



Hou shalte vnderstante gentle reader that though this worke of Utopia in English, come nowe the seconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it neuer my minde nor intente, that it shoulde euer haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke vpon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the ueste of a frende, for his owne priuate vse, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it secrete to hym selfe alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to iudge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundyng to my selfe therein, rather to please my fayde frends iudgemente, then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile Lightlie therefore I ouer ran the whole worke, and in short tyme, with more hast, then good spede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin prouerbe sayeth. The haftyte bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes For when this my worke was finished, the rudenes therot shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie persuasions of my frendes, and perceauing therfore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tefferis.

Si illud, quod est maxime opus iactu non cadit:

Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte vt corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaiyng or a game at the tables: Meanyng therein, if that chaunce rife not, whiche is

most for the plaiers aduaantage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier least damage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderstande, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretenfed purpose, so that the successe and our intente proue thingesfarre odde: yetso we ought with wittie circumfpection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experete gamester and a conning player, but a veryebungler, yet haue I in this by chaunce, that on my fide vnwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaued myself, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaire: so I am fuer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me so fine, so perfecte, and so exact yat at first, as surely for my smale lerning, it should haue done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I haue now in this seconde edition taken about itsuch paines, yat veryefewe great faultes and notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therfore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in iust consideration of the premisses, gentlye and fauourablye winke at them. So do-

ynge thou shalt minister vnto
me good cause to thinke
my labour and paynes
herein not altoge-
thers bestowed
in vaine.

VALE

¶ Thomas More to Pe-
ter Giles, sendeth
gretynge.



Am almoste ashamed, righte welbeloued Peter Giles, to send vnto you this boke of ye Utopian commen wealth, welniegh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe.

And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough, that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the laboure and studye belongyng to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition, or conueiance of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no caufe why I shuld study to setforth the matter with eloquence · for afmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beyng firste not studied for, but fudden and vnpredicte, and then, as you know, of a man better sene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my wrytynge, the niegher it should approche to his homely plaine, Trueþ loueth simplicie and playnes shuld it go to the trueth · which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and study herin. I graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of somuche laboure, haunge all these thinges ready done to my hande, that almooste there was nothinge left for me to do Elles either the inuention, or the disposition of this matter myghte haue required of a witte neither base, neither at all vnlerned, boþ some time and leasure, and also some studie. But if it were requisite, and necessarie, that the matter

shoulde also haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye : of a fueretie that thynge coulde I haue perfourmed by no tyme nor studye. But now seynge all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye to write playnelye the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leaue almost lesse, then no leasure.

The authors
bussines and
lettes. Whiles I doo dayelie bestowe my time
aboute lawe matters. some to pleade, some
to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne
awarde to determine, some as an vmpier or a Judge,
with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one
waye to see and visite my frende: an other waye about
myne owne priuat affaires. Whiles I spende almost al
the day abrode emonges other, and the residue at home
among mine owne; I leaue to my self, I meane to my
booke no time For when I am come home, I musle
commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and
talke wyth my seruauntes. All the whiche thinges I
recken and accompte amonge busynesse, forasmuche as
they muste of necessitie be done: and done muste they
nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his owne
house. And in any wyse a man muste so fashyon and
order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him
selfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleasaunt amonge
them, whom eyther nature hathe prouided, or chaunce
hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the
felowes, and companyons of hys life: so that with to
muche gentle behauoure and familiaritie, he do not
marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his ser-
uauntes, make them hismaysters. Emonge these thynge
now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth,
the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while
haue I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate,
which emong a great number doth wast no lesse tyme,

then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme
of man crepeth awaye. I therefore dowynne Meate and slepe
and getonelyethattyme, whiche I steale from great wasters
slepe and meate. of time.

it is very litle, and yet somwhat it is, therfore haue I
ones at the laste, though it be longe first, finished
Utopia; and haue sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade
and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thynge haue
escaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it.
For though in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste
my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somwhat in wit
and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest
memorye) yet haue I not so great trufe and confidence
in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my
mynde. For Iohn Clement my boye, who John Clement
as you know was there presente with vs,
whome I sufferto be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye
be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed
and new shotte vp corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon
to spring vp both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke
for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne)
he I faye hathe broughte me into a greate doubte.
For wheras Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye fayle
me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe
ouer the ruer of Anyder is fyue hundred paseis, that
is to faye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my Iohn fayeth that
two hundred of those paseis muste be plucked away,
for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboue three
hundred paseis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call
the mattei to youre remembraunce For yf you agree
wyth hym, I also wyll faye as you faye, and confessie
myselfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the
thing, then surelye I wyll write as I haue done, and as
myne owne remembraunce serueth me. For as I wyll
take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing
false, so yf there be anye thynge doubt- A diuersite
full, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a
be. bycause I had rather be good, then
wifie. Howebeit thys matter maye easelye be remedied.
betweene ma-
king a lye, and
telling a lie

yf you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphael him selfe by woerde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for an other doubte also, that hathe chaunced, throughue whose faulthe I cannot tel. whether through

In what parte mine, or yours, or Raphaels For neyther of the worlde we remembred to enquire of him, nor he Utopia standeth it is vn- to tel vs in what part of the newe world knownen Utopia is situate The whiche thinge, I

had rather haue spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus haue escaped vs. a swell for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what fea that ylande standeth, wherof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with vs certen men, and especiaillie

It is thoughte one vertuous and godly man, and a pro- of some that fessour of diuinitie, who is excedyng desier- here is vnfa- edly ment the ous to go vnto Utopia: not for a vayne late famous vi- care of Croy- and curious defyre to see newes, but to the don in Surrey intente he maye further and increase oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne. And that he maye the better accomplyshe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be fente thether by the hiegle Byshoppe: yea, and that he himselfe may be made Bisshoppe of Utopia, beyng nothyng scrupulous herein, that he muste obteyne this Byshopricke with suete. For he

A godly suete counteth that a godly suete, which pro- cedeth not of the desire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherfore I moste earnestly desire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is vntrue, neyther anye thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shalbe well done, that you shewe vnto him the book it selfe For yf I haue myssed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulthe haue escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do,

oneles he peruse, and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer by this meanes shall you perceave, whether he be well wyllyng and content, that I shoulde vnder-
take to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be
mynded to publyshe, and put forth his owne laboures,
and trauayles himselfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe,
and so woulde I also, that in publishyng the Utopiane
weale publyque, I shoulde preuent him, and take frome
him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his
historie. Howbeit, to faye the verye trueth, I am not yet
fullye determined with my selfe, whether I will put furth
my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers,
the phantasies of some so wayward, their The vnkynde
myndes so vnkynde, their iudgements so
men
corrupte, that they which leade a merie and
a iocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures
and carnall lustes, maye feme to be in a muche better
state or case, then they that vexe and vnquiete them-
selues with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe and
publishyng of some thynge, that maye be either
profeit or pleasure to others: whiche others neuerthe-
les will disdainfully, scornefully, and vnkindly accepte
the same. The moost part of al be vnlearned. And
a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The
rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which
is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a
little smacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely geare
and commen ware, whatsoeuer is not stuffed full of olde
moughteaten termes, and that be worne out of vse.
Some there be that haue pleasure onelye in olde rustie
antiquities. And some onehe in their owne doynges.
One is so sowre, so crabbed, and so vnpleasaunte, that
he can awaye with no myrthe nor sporte. An other is
so narrowe betwene ye shulders, that he can beare no
iesfes nor tauntes. Some feli poore soules be so afearde
that at euerye inappishe woorde their nose shall be
bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of euerye
quicke and sharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a
madde dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and

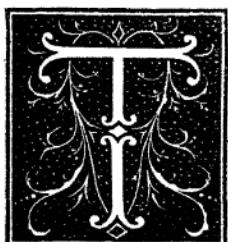
wauerynge, that euery houre they be in a newe mynde, fayinge one thinge syttinge, and an other thynge standynge. An other sorte sytteth vpon their allebencheis, and there amoneg their cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne euen as pleafeth them, euerye writer accordynge to his writinge, in mooste spitefull maner mockynge, lowtinge, and flowtinge them ; beyng them selues in the meane seafon sauffe, and as fayeth the prouerbe, oute of all daunger of gonnehotte. For why, they be so smugge and smothe, that they haue not so much as one hearre of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer some so vnkynde and vngentle, that though they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to aforde him a good woorde : beyng much like vncourteous, vnthankfull, and chourlifh gestes. Whiche when

A fitte Similitude they haue with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellyes, departe home, geuyng no thankes to the feaste maker. Go your wayes now, and make a costlye feaste at youre owne charges for gestes so dayntie mouthed, so diuers in taste, and besides that of so vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithiday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe aduisement. Howbeit, feeyng I haue taken great paynes and laboure in writyng the matter, if it may stande with his mynde and pleasure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publishyng of the booke, followe the counfell and aduise of my frendes, and speciallye yours. Thus fare you well right her-

tely beloued frende Peter, with
your gentle wife : and loue
me as you haue euer done,
for I loue you better
then euer I
dyd.

T The first

Booke of the communication of
Raphael Wythloday, concernyng
the best state of a commen welth.



He moste victorious and triumphant
Kyng of Englande Henrye the
eyght of that name, in al roial
vertues, a Prince most perelesse
hadde of late in controuerſie with
Charles, the right highe and mightye
Kyng of Castell, weighty matters,
and of great importaunce. For
the debatement and final determination wheroſ, the
kinges Maieſty ſent me Ambaſſadour into Flaunders,
ioyned in Commission with Cuthbert Tunſtall, a man doutleſſe out of comparison,
and whom the Kynges Maieſtie of late, to the great
reioyſyng of all men, dyd preferre to the office of
Maiftre of the Rolles.

Cuthbert
Tunſtall.

But of this mannes prayſes I wyll ſaye nothyng, not
bicaufe I doo feare that ſmall credence ſhalbe geuen
to the teſtimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe
but bicaufe his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of
more excellency, then that I am able to praife them.
and alſo in all places ſo famous and ſo perfectly well
knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to
bee prayſed, vndeſſe I woulde ſeeme to ſhew, and ſet
furth the brightnes of the fonne with a candell, as the
Prouerbe ſaieth There mette vs at Bruges (for thus
it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for
that matter appoynted Commissioners: excellent men

all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregraue (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man · but the wifest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, prouost of Caffelles, a man, not only by lernyng, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonyng, and debatyng of matters what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twise mette, and vpon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne space tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streighe thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidynge, often times amone other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd visite

Peter Gyles

me one Peter Giles, a Citisen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest. For it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honestye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous condicions, and also singularly wel learned, and towardes all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: But towardes his frendes so kynde herted, so louyng, so faithfull, so trusyte, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man vseth leffe simulation or diffimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicite. Besidess this, he is in his talke and communication so merye and pleasaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynement, and his sweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminished the feruente desyre, that I had to see my natvie countrey, my wyfe and my chylidren, whom then I dyd muche longe and couete to see, because that at that time I had been more then. iii. Monethes from them. Vpon a certayne daye when I

hadde herde the diuine seruice in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious Churche of buyldyng in all the Citi, and also most frequented of people, and the seruice beyng doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng me, came vnto me, and saluted me.

And as I was aboute to answere him see you this man, sayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I sawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to bryng him strayghte home to you.

He should haue ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake.

Nay (quod he) for his owne sake, if you knewe him for there is no man thys day liuyng, that can tell you of so manye straunge and vnknownen peoples, and Countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of suche newes.

Then I conjectured not farre a misse (quod I) for euen at the first syght, I iudged him to be a mariner.

Naye (quod he) ther ey were greatly deceyued: he hath failed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experie and prudent prince Vlisses: Yea, rather as the auncient and sage Philosopher Plato For this fame Raphaell Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is Hithlodaye very well lerned in the Latine tongue. but profounde and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he euer bestowed more studye then in the Latine, bycause he had geuen himselfe wholy to the study of Philosophy. Wheroft he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpose, sauynge a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he leste to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned

himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the iii. last voyages of those. iii. that be nowe in printe, and abiode in euery mannes handes, he continued styll in his company, sauynge that in the last voya-
ge he came not home agayne with him. For he made
suche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, and what
by importune sute, that he gotte licence of mayster
Americke (though it were fore against his wyll) to be
one of the. xxviii whiche in the ende of the last voyage
were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore
lefte behynde for hys mynde sake, as one that tooke more
thoughte and care for trauaileyng, then dyenge hauyng
customably in his mouth these saynges. He that hathe
no graue, is couered with the skye and, the way to
heauen out of all places is of like length and distaunce.
Which fantasie of his (if God had not ben his better
frende) he had surely bought full deare. But after the
departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had trauailed
thorough and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his
companions Gulikianes, at the last by merueylyous
chaunce he arriued in Taprobane, from whence he went
to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of
hys Countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne
into his Countreye, nothyng lesse then looked for

All this when Peter hadde tolde me: I thanked him for
his gentle kindnesse, that he had vouchsafed to bryng me
to the speache of that man, whose communication: he
thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte, and acceptable.
And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylseyd eche other: and had spoken
these commune woordes, that bee customablye spoken at
the first meting, and acquaintaunce of straungers, we
went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine
vpon a bench couered with greene toues, we fatte
downe talkyng together. There he tolde vs, how that
after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellowes
that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle,
throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wynne the loue
and fauoure of the people of that countreye, insomuche

that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupying with them verye familiarily. He tolde vs also, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whose name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes and charges of him and his fyue companions. And besides that gaue them a trustye guyde to conducte them in their iourney (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to bryng them to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes iourneys, he sayd, they founde townes, and Cities, and weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holfome lawes For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on bothe sydes of the same, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his course, lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde desertes and wilderneses, parched, burned, and dryed vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and vnpleasaunt to beholde. All thynges out of saf-tyon, and comelinesie, inhabited withe wylde Beastes, and Serpentes, or at the leaste wyse, with people, that be no lesse sauage, wylde, and noysome, then the verye beastes them selfes be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe plea-ffaunte. The ayre softe, temperate and, gentle The grounde couered with grene grasse. Lesse wildnesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourse and occupying of meichaundise and chaffare, not only among themselfes, and with theire Borderers, but also with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion (sayd he) to go to many countreyes on euery syde. For there was no shippes ready to any voyage or iourney, but I and my fellowes were into it verye gladly receyued. Shippes of straunge fassions The shippes that thei founde first were made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, trough wyse. The sayles were made of great ruffhes, or of

wickers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kyeles: and fayles of canuaſſe, yea, and shortly after hauyng all thynges lyke oures. The ſhipmen alſo very experte and cunnyng, bothe in the ſea, and in the wether. But he ſaide, that he founde great fauoure and frendſhip amounge them, for teachyng them the feate and the vfe The lode ſtone of the lode ſtone. Whiche to them before that time was vñknowne. And therfore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull vpon the ſea: Nor to venter vpon it, but only in the ſomer time. But nowe they haue ſuche a confidence in that ſtone, that they feare not ſtormy winter: in ſo dooynge farther from care then daunger, In ſo muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, leſt that thyng, throughe their owne foliſh hardineſſe, ſhall tourne them to euyll and harme, which at the firſt was ſuppoſed ſhoulde be to them good and commodious.

But what he tolde vs that he fawe in euerye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare. Neither it is my purpoſe at this time to make rehersall therof. But peraduenture in an other place I wyll ſpeake of it, chiefly ſuche thynges as ſhall be profitable too bee knownen, as in ſpeciall be thoſe decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely prouided and enacted amounge ſuche peoples, as do liue together in a ciuile policye, and good ordre. For of ſuche thynges dyd wee buſelye enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewiſe very willingly tolde vs of the fame. But as for monſters, bycauſe they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitiue. For nothyng is more eaſye to bee founde then bee barkynge Scyllaes, rauenynge Celenes, and Leftrigones deuouurers of people, and ſuche lyke great, and incrediblē monſters. But to fynde Ciſſens ruled by good and hofſome lawes, that is an exceeding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and foliſhe lawes in thoſe newe founde landes, ſo he rehersed diuers actes, and conſtitutions, whereby theſe oure Ciſſes, Nations, Countreis,

and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours Wherof in another place (as I sayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this time I am determined to reherse onely that he tolde vs of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repeate oure former communication by th[e] occasion, and (as I might faye) the drifte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched diuers thynges, that be amisse, some here, and some there, yea, very many on bothe partes, and againe had spoken of fuche wise lawes, and prudente decrees, as be established, and vsed, bothe here amonge vs, and also there amonge theym, as a man so perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and customes of euery feuerall Countey, as though into what place foever he came geastwise, there he had ledde al his life then Peter muche meruailynge at the man. Surely maister Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into some kinges courte. For I am sure, there is no Prince liyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, and helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng your selfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinffolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynffolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue suffici-
ently doone my parte towardes them already. For these thynges, that other men doo not departe from, vntyl they be olde and fycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leaue, when they canne no longer keepe, those very fame thynges dyd I beyng not only lustye, and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, diuide among my frendes and kynffolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and not to requite nor to ioke that besydes this, I shoulde

for their fakes geue myselfe in bondage vnto Kinges.

Nay, Godforbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte mymynde that you shoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure. Whiche surely I thinke is the nighest waye that you can deuise howe to bestowe your time frutefully, not onlye for the priuate commoditie of your frendes, and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for th[e] aduaancement of your self to a much welthier state, and condition, then you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyue at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of these great states, and pieres of realmes can saye Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue for great mensfrendeshippes. and therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor ii. or iii. suche otheras I am.

Well, I perceue playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be desirous neither of richeesse, nor of power. And truly I haue in no lesse reuerence and estimation a man of your mynde, then anye of them all that bee so high in power and authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wisdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte so to appoyn特 and dispose your selfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publicque, though it be somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you neuer so wel doe, nor wyth so greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his heade (as I double not but you wyl) honeste opinions, and vertuous persuasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or euell. But in you is so perfitte lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, and agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be any kinges counsellour.

You be twyse deceaued maister More (quod he) fyriste in me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe. For neither is in

metheabilitye that you force vpon me, andyfitwerneuer so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I shoule nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the mooste parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chualtrie (ye knowlege wheroft I neither haue nor desire) than in the good feates of peace. and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceable to rule, and gouerne that they haue alredie. Moreouer, they that be counsellours to kinges, euerie one of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, yat he wil not allowe an other mans counsel, sauing that they do shamefully, and flatteringly geue assent to the fond and folishe sayinges of certeyn great men. Whose fauours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to esteme their owne inuentions best. So both the Rauen and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and haue despite at other mens inuentions, and some counte thei owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man should bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes past, or that he hath sene done in other places thei the heaiers. fare as though the whole existimation of their wifdome were in ioperdye to be ouerthrownen, and that euer after thei shoulde be counted for verye diserdes, vnles they could in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at. If all other poore helpes fayle: then this is Triptakers their extreame refuge. These thinges (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestours: wolde God we coulde be so wise as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped euerie mans mouth, thei sitte downe againe. As who shoulde fai, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser, then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffre the

best and wittiest of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might haue ben taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, findyng therin many faultes Manye tymes haue I chaunced vp-
 Parcial rudge- on such proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and way-
 uentes warde iudgementes, yea, and once in England:

I prai you Syr (quod I) haue you ben in our countrey?

Yea forsoth (quod he) and there I taried for the space of III or. v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yat the Westerne English men made agaynst their Kyng, which by their owne miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended In the meane seafon I was muche bounde and beholdynge to

Cardinall the righte reuelende father, Ihon Morton, Morton Archebishop and Cardinal of Canterbury,

and at that time also lorde Chauncelloure of Englande: a man Mayster Peter (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll faye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane statuie, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright In his face did shine such an amiable reuerence, as was pleasaunte to beholde, Gentill in communication, yet earnest, and sage He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his fewters, to proue, but withoute harme, what prompte witte, and what bolde spirite were in euery man. In the which

as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the same person, as apte and mete to haue an administrayon in the weale publique, he dyd louingly embrase. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pythye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellente. These qualityes, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learnynge and vse had made perfecte. The Kynge put muche truse in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chiese of his youth he was taken from schole into the Courte, and there passed

all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled and toffed in the waues of dyuers my-
fortunes and aduerſitieſ. And ſo by many and greate
daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche
ſo beinge learned can not eaſely be forgotten. It
chaunced on a certayne daye, when I ſate at his table,
there was alſo a certayne laye man cunnyngē in the lawes
of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wheroſ takynge
occation, began diligenty and earneſtly to prayſe that
ſtrayte and rygorous iuſtice, which at that tyme was
there executed vpon fellones, who as he ſayde, were for
the moſt parte. xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes
And, ſeyng ſo fewe escaped punyſhement, he ſayde he
coulde not chufe, but greatly wonder and maruel, howe
and by what euil lucke it ſhould ſo come to paſſe, that theues
neuertheleſ were in euery place ſo ryffe and ſo iancke.
Naye Syr quod I (for I durſt boldely ſpeake
my minde before the Cardinal) maruel no-
thinge here at · for this punyſhment of theues
paſſeth the limites of Iuſtice, and is alſo very hurtefull
to the weale publique For it is to extreame and cruel
a punishment for thefte, and yet not ſufficient to refrayne
and withhold men from thefte For ſimple thefte is not
ſo great an offence, that it owght to be punished with
death Neither ther is any punishment fo horrible, that it
can kepe them from ſtealyngē, which haue no other craft,
wherby to get their huyng. Therfore in this poynte,
not you onlye, but alſo the moſt part of the world, be
like euyll ſcholmaifters, which be readyer to beate,
then to teache, their ſcholers. For great and horrible
punyſhmentes be appointed for theues By what mea-
whereas much rather prouifion ſhould haue nes ther might
ben made, that there were ſome meaneſ, be fewer the-
ueſ and robbors whereby they myght get their huyng, ſo that no
man ſhoulde be dryuen to this extreame neces-
ſtie. firſte to ſteale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he)
this matter is wel ynough prouided for already There
be handy craftes, there is hufbandrye to gette their
huyngē by if they would not willingly be nougħt

Nay, quod I, you shall not skape so : for first of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe a go, oute of Blacke heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce . fuche, I faye, as put their liues in ioperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenesse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres haue their ordiuarie recourse. But let vs

Idlenesse the mother of theues fidre thosc thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. First there is a great numbre of

gentlemen, which can not be content to liue idle themselves, lyke dorres, of yat whiche other haue laboured for : their tenautes I meane, whom they polle

Landordes by the wai check-ed for Rent-raisyng and shauie to the quicke, by reisfyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they vse, men els through their lauasie and prodigall spendynge, hable to brynghe theymselfes to verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say, do not only hue in idlenesse themselves, but also carrye about

Of Idle seru-yng men come theues with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyteryng seruynghmen, which neuer learned any craft wherby to

gette their luynghes. These men as fone as their master is dead, or be sicke themselves, be incontinent thrust out of dores. For gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle persones, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine so great a house, and kepe so many seruynghmen as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of seruice, either starue for honger, or manfullye playe the theues. For what would you haue them to do? When they haue wandred abrode so longe, vntyl they haue worne thredes bare their apparell, and also appaireld their helth, then gentlemen because of their pale and sicklye faces, and patched cotes, wil not take them into seruice. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: Knowynge wel yngouge that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and

faythful seruice to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beyng deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in ydilnes and pleasure, was wont with a fworde and a buckler by hys syde to iette through the strete with a bragginge loke, and to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye by faynt Mary sir (quod the lawier) not so. For this kinde of men muste we make moste of. For in them as men of stowter stomackes, bolder spirites, and manlyer courages then handycrafte men and plowemen be, doth confiste the whole powre, strength, and puissaunce of ouie army, when we muste fight in battayle Forsothe sir a fwell you myghte saye (quod I) yat for warres sake you muste cheryshe theues For fuerly you shall neuer lacke theues, whyles you haue them No nor theues be not the most false and faynt harted fol-
 Betwene sol-
 diers, nor souldiours be not the cowardleste diers and theues
 theues so wel thees. ii. craftes agree toge-
 smal diversitie
 ther. But this faulte, though it be much vsed amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen also almoste to all nations Yet Fraunce besides this is troubled and infected with a much forer plage The whole 1oyalme is fyllid and besieged with hieri souldiours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be brought in vnder the same colour and pretense, that hath persuaded you to kepe these ydell seruynge men. For thies wyfesfooles and verye archedoltes thought the wealthe of the whole countrey herin to confiste, if there were euer in a rediness a stonge and sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men vnexcised. And therfore they must be forced to seke for warre, to the ende thei may euer haue practised souldiours, and cunnyng mansleiers, lest that (as it is pretely fayde of Salust) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exercise, shold waxe dul. But howe pernitious and pestilenet a thyng it is to maintayne suche beastes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of man-

ye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. For not
 onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes and
 Cities of all these, by diuers occasions haue
 been ouerrunned and destroyed of their
 ownearmies before hande had in a redinesse.

What incon-
 ueniences com-
 eth by con-
 tinuall gar-
 sons of soul-
 diours

Now how vnecessary a thinge this is,
 hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche souldiours,
 which from their youth haue ben practised and inured
 in feates of armes, do not cracke nor aduaunce them-
 selves to haue very often gotte the vpper hand and
 maistry of your new made and vnpractised souldiours.
 But in this poynte I wyll not vse many woordes, leste
 perchaunce I maye seeme to flatter you. No nor those
 same handy crafte men of yours in Cities, nor yet the
 rude and vplandish plowmen of the countreye, are not
 supposed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle
 seruyngmen, vnlesse it be suche as be not of body or
 stature corispondent to their strength and courage,
 oreles whose bolde stomakes be discouraged throughe
 pouertie. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared
 lest they shoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought
 vp in good craftes and laboursome woorkes, whereby
 to gette their luynghes, whose stoute and stuidye bodyes
 (for gentlenien vouchsafe to corrupte and spill none
 but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of
 rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse. oreles by
 easy and womanly exercis(es) be made feble, and vn-
 hable to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so euer the
 case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing auayable
 to the weale publique, for warre sake, which you neuer
 haue, but when you wyl your selfes, to keepe and main-
 teyn an vnnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that
 be so troublesome and noyous in peace. Wherof you
 ought to haue a thowsand times more regarde, then of
 warre. But yet this is not only the necessary cause of
 stealing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is
 p[ro]per and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is
 that, quod the Cardinal? forsooth my lorde (quod I)
 your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and

so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great
deuowerers and so wylde, that they eate vp, and swallow downe the very men them selfes. They consume, destroye, and de-

English shepe
deuourers of
men.

uoure whole fieldes, howfes, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fyndyng, and therfore dearest woll, there noble men, and gentlemen. yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selfes with the yearlye reuenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beyng content that they liue in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique. leaue no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures. thei throw doun houses: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing standyng, but only the churche to be made a shepehowse. And as thoughe you loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on couetous and vnfiatiable cormaraunte and very plague of his natyue contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and iniuries thei be so wieried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, felye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wiues, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull motheis, with their yonge babes, and their whole housshould smal in substance, and muche in numbre, as hys bandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knownen and accustomed houses, fyndyng no place to reste in. All their housholdestuffe, whiche is verye litle woorthe, thoughe it myght well abide the sale: yet deeyng fodainely thruste oute, they be con-

Shepe mai-
sters decayers
of husbandrye.

The decaye of
husbandry cau-
seth beggery,
which is the
mother of va-
gaboundes and
theues

strayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abrode till that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then iustly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prisoun as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei neuer so willyngly profre themselfes thereto. For one Shephearde or Heardman is yngough to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupying wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes

The cause of
dearth of vic-
taules

wolle is so ryfen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geue them selfes to idelnesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte,

What inconve-
nience commeth
of dearth of
wolle

fuche vengeance God toke of their inordinate and vnfaciablie couetousnes, sendinge amoung the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more iustly shoulde haue fallen on the shepemasters owne heade. And though the number of shepe increase neuer so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe

The cause of
dearth of wol

fellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. Now the same

Dearth of cat-
tel with the
cause thereof.

cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that so much yea more, bicause that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passethe for the breadynge of younge stoore. For these riche men brynge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them abrode verie chepe, and afterward when they haue fatted in their pas-

ures, they sell them agayne excedyng deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make deaith onely in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetche them away from thence wheare they be bredde faster then they can be broughte vp: then shall there also be felte greate dearth, stooore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreasonable couetousnes of a few hath turned yat thing to the vtter vndoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. For this greate dearth of victualles causeth men to kepe as litle houses, and as smale hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their seruauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggyng: or elles (whyche these gentell bloudes, and stoute stomackes, wyll soone set their myndes vnto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerye, and miserable pouertie is ioyned greate wantonnes, importunate superfluitie, and excessiue riote. For not only gentle mennes seruauntes, but also handicrafte men. yea and almooste the ploughmen of the country, with al other sortes of people, vse muche straunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet an other stewes wynetaurnes, ale houses, and tiplinge houses, with so manye noughtie, lewde, and vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these fende the haunters of them streyghte a stealyng when theyr money is gone? Caste oute these pernicious abhominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and townes of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vprender the possession therof to suche, as wl goto the cost of buylding them anew. Suffer not these riche men

Dearth of victualles is the decay of house keping, whereof ensueth beggery and thefe

Excesse in apparell and diet a maintainer of beggery and thefe

Baudes, whores, wynetaurnes, alehouses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theues

to bievpal, to ingroffe, and forstalle, and with their monopoli to kepe the market alone as please them.
 Rich men in-
 grossers and
 forestallers Let not so many be brought vp in idelnes, let
 husbandry and tillage be restored, let clothe-
 workinge be renewed, that ther may be honest labours for
 this idell sort to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche
 hitherto either pouertie hath caused to be theues, or
 elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel seruing men,
 and shortelye wilbe theues. Doubtles onles you finde
 a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine ad-
 uaunce your felues of executing iustice vpon fellons
 For this iustice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and

The corrupte
 education of
 youth a mother
 of theuery.

more florishyng to the shewe, then either
 ruste or profitable For by suffring your
 youthe wantonlie, and viciously to be
 brought vp, and to be infected, euen frome
 theyr tender age, by litle and litle with vice then a
 goddes name to be punished, when they commit the
 same faultes after being coine to mans state, which
 from their youthe they were euer like to do In this
 pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then
 make theues, and then punish them? Now as I was
 thus speakeinge, the Lawier began to make hym selfe
 readie to answere, and was determined with him selfe
 to vse the common fashion, and trade of disputers,
 whiche be more diligent in rehersinge, then answering,
 as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise.
 In dede fir, quod he, you haue said wel, being but a
 straunger, and one that myghte rather heare some
 thing of these matters, then haue any exacte or per-
 fecte knowledge of the same, as I wil incontinent by
 open proffe make manifest and plaine. For firste I
 will reherser in order all that you haue sayde: then I
 wyll declare wherein you be deceaued, through lacke
 of knowledge, in all oure fashions, maners and cus-
 tomes: and last of all I will aunswere youre argumen-
 tes, and confute them euery one Firste therefore I
 wyll begynne where I promyfed. Foure thynges you
 seemed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Car

dinall for it appeareth that you will make no shorte aunswere, which make fuche a beginnyng. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the paynes to make youre aun[f]were. but kepe it to youre nexte meatynge, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be euen to morrowe next, onles either you or mayster Raphael haue any earnest let. But nowe mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladye heare of you, why you thinke thefte not worthye to be punished with deathe, or what other punishmente you can deuise more expedient to the weale publique. For I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde haue thefte escape vnpunished. For yf nowe the extreme punishmente of deathe can not cause them to leaue stealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers shoulde be fuer of their lyues: what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishmente, as a verye prouocation to the mischefe?

Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor iustice, that ye losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For

myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to counteruayle mans life. But if they would thus say: that the breakynge of iustice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous iustice wel be called plaine inuriie? For so cruell gouernaunce, so streite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by and by the fword should be drawnen. Nor so stoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenses of fuche equaltie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we haue anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equaltie confisteth. God commaundeth vs that we shall not kill. And be we

He is worthe-
he putto silence
that is to full
of wordes

That thefte
ought not to be
punished by
death.

Straite lawes
not allowable

then so hastie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? And if any man woulde vnderstante killing by this commaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wife, then mans constitutions define killynge to be lawfull,

That mans law ought not to be preiudiciale to gods law then whye maye it not lykewise by mans constitutions be determined after what fort whordome, fornication, and perjurie may be lawfull? For where as by

the permission of God, no man hath power to kil neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slaughter of men oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God haue killed those, whom this constitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and daunger to Gods commaundement. shall it not then by this reason follow, that the power of Gods commaundemente shall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that in like maner mans constitutions in al thinges shal determine how farre the obseruation of all Gods commaundementes shall extende. To be shorte Moyses law, though it were vngentle and sharpe, as a law that was geuen to bondmen, yea; and them very obstinate, stubborne, and stynched yet it punished thefe

Thefe in the olde lawe not punished by death. by the purse, and not wyth death. And let vs not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, vnder the whiche he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentlenes, as his

deare children hathe geuen vs greater scoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one vpon another. Nowe ye haue heard the reasons whereby, I am persuaded that this punishment is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke

What inconuenience ensueth of punishyng theft with death. ther is no body that knoweth not, how vnireasonable, yea: how pernicious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a thefe and an homicide or murderer, shoulde suffer equall and like punishment. For the thefe seynge that

man, that is condempned for thefe in no leffe ieoperdie, nor iudged to no leffe punishment, then him that is conuicte of manslaughter: throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forciblye prouoked, and in a maner constreined to kill him, whome els he woulde haue but robbed.

Punishing of
theft by dea
causeth the
thefe to be a
murtherer

For the murder beyng ones done, he is in leffe feare, and in more hooke that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knownen, feyng the partye is nowe deade, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye myghte haue vttered and disclosed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discryued: yet he is in no more daunger and ieoperdie, then if he had committed but single fellonye. Therfore whiles we go about with fuche cruyeltie to make theues aferd, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this question, what punishmente were more commodious and better: that truelye in my iudgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might be wурse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the punishmente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paste so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publique mooste experte, politique, and cunnyng? Suche as amone them were conuicte of great and heynous trespasses, them they condempned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I traualied abroade aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amone the people that commenly be called the Polylerites. Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittelye gouerned: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, saunge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great king of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclosed, almoste rounde aboute with hyghe moun-

What lawfull
punishment
may be deuised
for theft.

Howe the Ro-
mayns puni-
shed thefte

A worthy and
commendable
punishment of
theues in the
weale publique
of the Polyler-
ites in Persia.

taines, and do content them selues with the fruities of
 their owne lande, whiche is of it selfe verye fertile and
 frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other coun-
 triers, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the
 olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the
 boundes of their dominions: and those that they haue
 by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and
 the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and
 kinge, fetteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus
 their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may
 better be called happie or welthy, then notable or
 famous. For they be not knowen as much, as by name,
 I suppose sauing only to theyr next neighbours and
 borderes. They that in this lande be attainted and
 conuict of felony, make restitution of that which they
 stole, to the righte owner. and not (as they do in other
 landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke
A priuie nuppe
for them that
to otherwise
 to haue no more righte to the thief stolen
 thinge, then the thieve him selfe hathe. But
 if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it
 is paide of the gooddes of such offenders, which els re-
 maneth all whole to their wiues, and children. And
Theues con-
demned to be
commen labou-
ters
 they them selues be condempned to be com-
 mon laborers, and, oneles the thefte be
 verie heinous, they be neyther locked in
 prisone, nor fettered in giues, but be vntied and go at
 large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse
 labour, or go slowly and slacklye to their worke, be not
 onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with
 stripes. But beinge diligente aboue theyr worke they
 liue without checke or rebuke. Euery night they be
 called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Be-
 side their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or in-
 commodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the
 charges of the weale publike, bicause they be commen
 seruauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in
 all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some
 partes that which is bestowed vpon them is gathered
 in almes. And though that waye be vncertein, yet

the people be so ful of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In some places certein landes be appointed hereunto; of the reuenewes whereof they be maunteined. And in some places euerye man geueth a certein tribute for ye fame vfe and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these feiuing men (for so be these dampedn persons called) do no common worke, but as euerye priuate man nedeth laborours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe some of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limitted waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawefull for them to chastice the flouthe of these feruunge men with stripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, euerye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the common treasourie. All and euery one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shauen, but rounded a lytle aboue the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Euery one of them maye take meate and drinke of their trendes, and also a coate of their owne colloure. but to receiue money is deathe, aswell to the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And no lesse ioperdie it is for a free man to receiue moneye or a feiuyng manne for anye maner of cause. and lykewise for feruunge men to touche weapons. The feruunge men of euerye feuerall shire be distincte and knownen frome other by their feuerall and distincte badges. whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be sene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a feruunge man of another shire. And it is lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. An euell intent esteemed as the dede Yea and to conceal siche an enterpries in a feruunge man it is deathe, in a free man feruitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and vtereth siche counfelles, be decreed large giftes to a free man a great some of money, to a feruung man freedome:

and to them bothe forgeuenes and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be so good for them to go forewarde in their euyll purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and oder in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vsed, howe farre it is frome

The right end and intent of punishment crueltie, and howe commodyous it is, you do playnelye perceau. For asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyfishment intendeth nothyng elles, but the destruction of vices, and fauyng of menne wyth so vfyng, and ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, and what harme so euer they did before, in the residewe of theyr life to make a mendes for the same. Moreouer it is so litle feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyl for their fauergarde chuse them to theyr guydes before any other, in euery shair chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they haue nothinge aboue them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboue them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can haue any hope at all to skape awaye by flenge. For howe should a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, fye preuelie and vnkownen, onles he woulde runne awayenaked? Howebeit so also flyinge he shoulde be discriued by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conspire agaist the weale publique. No no I warrantee you. For the seruynge men of one shiere alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterprize, without follicitinge, entyfinge, and alluryng the seruynge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not asmuch as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde

make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be ieopardie to the concelour thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recouer againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente suffringe, and by geuing good tokens and lkelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll euer after that, lyue like a trewe, and an honest man. For euerye yeare diuers of them be restored to their freedome: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus spoken, saynge moreouer that I coulde see no cause why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Iustice whiche the lawyer so heighly playied: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde neuer be so stablished in Englande, but that it must nedes bringe the weale publike into great ieoperdie and hasarde. And as he was thus saynge, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his saynge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to iudge withoute a pioffe, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the sentence of death is geuen, if than the kinge shoulde commaunde execution to be deferred and spared, and would proue this order and fassion: takinge awaye the priuileges of all faintuaries: if then the profe shoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablished. Els the condempned and repriued persons may awel and as iustly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Neither any ieoperdie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these ^{Vagaboundes} vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fassion, against whom we haue hitherto made so many lawes, and so litle preuailed. When the Cardinall had thus faide, than every man gaue greate praise

to my sayinges, whiche a litle before they had viss
 allowed But moost of al was estemed that
 The wauering judgements of flatterers which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause
 it was the cardinalles owne addition. I can
 not tell whether it were best to reherse the communica
 tion that folowed, for it was not very sad. But yet you
 shall heare it, for there was no euil in it, and partlye
 it parteined to the matter before saide. There chaunced
 to stand by a certein iesting parasite, or scoffer, which
 wold seme to ressemble and counterfeit ye foole. But
 he did in suche wise counterfeit, that he was almost ye
 verye fame in dede that he labored to repreſent: he
 so ſtudied with wordes and fayinges brought furth ſo
 out of time and place to make ſpoite and moue laug
 ther, that he himſelfe was oftener laughed at then his
 ieftes were. Yet the fooliſhe fellowe brought out
 now and then ſuſh indiſterent and reaſonable ſtuffe,
 that he made the prouerbe true, which ſaieth: he that
 ſhoteth oft, at the laſt ſhal hit the mark. So that when
 one of the company ſayd, that throughe my communica
 tion a good order was founde for theues, and that
 the Cardinal alſo had wel prouided for vagaboundes,
 ſicke, aged, ſo that only remained ſome good prouifion
 impotent per
 ſons and beg
 gers to be made for them that through ſicknes
 and age were fallen into pouertie, and were
 become ſo impotent and vneweldie, that they were not
 hable to worke for their liunge. Tushe (quod he) let me
 alone with them: you ſhall ſe me do well ynough with
 them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde
 of people were druen ſumwher oute of my fight, they
 haue ſo fore troubled me manye times and ofte, when
 they haue wyth their lamentable teares begged money
 of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my mynde ſo tune
 their ſonge, that thereby they euer got of me one far
 thinge. For euer more the one of these two chaunced:
 either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause
 I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wiſe. For
 when they ſee me go by, bicause they will not leefe
 theyr labour, they let me paſſe and ſaye not one worde

to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good sothe no more, then yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shalbe made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in iest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freare graduate in diuinite, toke suche pleasure and delite in this ieste of priestes and monkes, A commen pro
uerbe amonge
beggers that he also beyng elles a man of griflie and sterne grautie, began merlie and wan-tonlye to ieste and taunt. Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some prouision also for vs frears. Why, quod the iester, that is done alreadie, for my lord him selfe set a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straite, and set to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes that be. This iest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disproue it, every man toke it gladly, sauynge onelye the Frear. For he (and that no marueile) beyng thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chidunge, skolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbiter, sclauderer, and the childe of perdition: citinge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie Scripture. Then the iestynge scoffer beganne to playe the scoffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre selfe good maister Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for scripture saith: in youre patience you shall faue your soules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearfe his own verywoordes) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste wife, Talke qualifi-
ed according to
the person that
speaketh. I do not finne: for the Psalmiste saith, be youangrie, and finne not. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the freare, and desired him to quiete him-

selfe. No my lord, quod he, I speake not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd: the zeale of thy houfe hath eaten me. And it is songe in the church The skorners of Heli-zeus, whiles he went vp into the house of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peraduenture this skorning vil-laine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardi-nall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you should do, I can not tell whether more hohlie, certes more wisely, yf you woulde not set youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a foolish contention. No forsoeth my lorde (quod he) I shoulde not do more wyselye For Salomon the wyse saith: Answere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many skorners of Heli-zeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more shall one skorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we haue also the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and skorne vs be excommunicate, suspended, and acur-sed The cardinal, feing that none ende would be made, ient awaie the iester by a preuy becke, and tuined the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his fueters, and so dimissed vs. Looke maister More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which surely I woulde haue bene ashamed to haue done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a forte geue eare vnto it, as though you woulde not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Whiche thoughe I haue done sumwhat briefely, yet could I not chuse but rehearste it, for the iudgemente of them, whyche when they had improued and dis-allowed my sayinges, yet incontinent hearynge the Cardi-nall allowe them, dyd themselues also approue the same: so impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing ashamed to admitte, yea almoiste in good earnest, his iesters foolish inuentions. because that he him selfe by

smiling at them did feme not to disproue them. So that hereby you may right wel perceave how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and esteme me and my sayinges

I ensure you maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you faide were spoken so wittilye and so pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte vp of a childe, to waxe a child againe And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towardes you before, yet seyng you do so earnestlye faououre this man, you wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towardes you is nowe increased But yet, all this notwithstandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleue, that you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in youre hearte to follow some Princes courte, shall with your good counfelles greate lyelie helpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherfore there is nothynge more apperteining to youre dewty, that is to faye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques shall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geue themselues to the studie of Philosophie, how farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf Philosophers wyll vouchesaufe to enstruct kinges with their good counsell?

They be not so vnkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladye do it, yea, manye haue done it alreadye in bookees that they haue putfurthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, onelesse kynges themselues woulde applye their mindes to the studye of Philosophie, that elles they woulde never thoroughlye allowe the counsell of Philosophers, beyng themselues before euuen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse, and euill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe proued trewe in kinge Dionyse If I shoulde propose to any kyng

wholsome decrees, doynge my endeuoure to p[er]suade out of hys mynde the pernicious originall caufes of vice and nougntines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be drouen away, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well suppose I were with the Frenche kynge, and there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beyng preſente in hys owne perfonne they beate their braynes, and ferche the vreye bottomes of their wittes to diſcuſſe by

The Frenche-
men priu[ate] lie[utenant] he
counſelled from
the desire of
Italie what craſte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitiue Naples, And then howe to conquere the Venetians, and how to bringe vnder his

jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe a go in mind and purpose inuaded. Here whiles one counſelleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, ſo longe to endure, as ſhall be thought mete and expedient for their purpoſe, and to make them alſo of their counſell, yea, and beſides that to geue them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpoſe about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh best to hiere the Germaynes. An other woulde Launce knightes haue the fauoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others aduyſe is to appeafe the puissaunte power of the Emperoures maiefie wyth golde, as with a moſte pleafaunte, and acceptable ſacrifice. Whiles an other gyueth counſell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to reſtoore vnto him hys owne kyngedom of Nauarra, as a full affurance of peace. An other commeth in with his fiue egges, and aduifeth to hooke in the kynge of Caſtell with ſome hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate penſions. Whiles they all ſtaye at the chiefeſte doubtē of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the

Englishmen, and with mooste fuer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and hadde in suspicon as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in auuters the Englishmen shoulde sturre neuer so lytle, incontinent to fet vpon them. And moreouer preuile and secrelye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) priuelie therefore I faye to make muche of some Piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe iuste inherytoure thereof, that by this subtille meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they haue but small truste and affiaunce. Here I faye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I seie man shoulde rise vp and will them to tourne ouer the leafe, and learne a newe lesson, sayinge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye styll at home, and that the kynge-dome of Fraunce alone is almooste greater, then that it maye well be gouerned of one man: so that the kynge shoulde not nede to studye howe to gette more: And then shoulde propose vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Ilande of Utopia. An notable exam-
ple, and wor-
thy to be folo-
wed. These Achoriens made warre in their kinges quarrell

for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime vnto, and awaunced hymselfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tylte of an olde aliaunce. At the last when they had gotten it, an[d] fawe that they hadde euen as muche vexation and trouble in kepyng it, as they had in gettynge it, and that either their newe conquered subiectes by fundrye occasions were makynge daylye insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and forragynges inuadyng them: so that they were

euer fighting either for them, or agaynst them, and
neuer coulde breake vp theyr campes: Seynge them
selues in the meane season pylled and impouerished:
their money caried out of the realme: their own men
killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when
they had no warre, peace nothyng better then warre,
by reasoun that their people in war had so inured them-
selues to corrupte and wicked maners: that they had
taken a delite and pleasure in robbing and stealing:
that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes
to mischife: that their lawes were had in contempte,
and nothing fet by or regarded: that their king beyng
troubled with the charge and gouernaunce of two king-
domes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to dis-
charge his office towardes them both: feing againe that
all these euelles and troubles were endles: at the lafte
layde their heades together, and like faithfull and lou-
inge subiectes gaue to their kynge free choise and lib-
ertie to kepe stylly the one of these two kingdomes
whether he would. alleginge that he was not hable to
kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be
gouerned of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man
woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that
kepeth an other mans moyles besydes his. So this
good prince was confreyned to be content with his
olde kyngedom, and to geue ouer the newe to one of
his frendes. Who shortelye after was violentlie driuen
out Furthermore if I shoulde declare vnto them,
that all this busie prepaunce to warre, wherby so many
nations for his sake should be broughte into a trouble-
some hurlei-burley when all his coffers were emptied
his treasures wasted, and his people destroied, shoulde at
the length through some mischance be in vaine and to
none effect: and that therfore it were best for him to
content him selfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce,
as his forfathers and predecessours did before him: to
make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flour-
ishing as he could, to endeuoure him selfe to loue his
subiectes. and againe to be beloued of them, willingly

to liue with them, peaceably to gouerne them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, seinge that whiche he hath all reddy is euen ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can wel turne hym to this myne aduyse maister More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken?

So God helpe me not very thankefully, quod I.

Wel let vs procede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counfelwere together whettinge theirwittes and deuisinge, what subtell crafte they myght inuente to enryche the kinge with great treasures of money. First one counfelleth to rayse and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse them it is worthe, when he muste receiveue or gather any. For thus great sommes shalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche shalbe receaued. An other counfelleth to sayne warre, that when vnder this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate abundance of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solemnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe vpon mans bloude, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince. An other putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughteeaten lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counfelleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and colour of iustice. An other aduyseth him to forbiddre manye things vnder greate penalties and fines, specially fuche things as is for the peoples profit not be vsed, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition substeyne losse and dammage. For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profite riseth two wayes. First by tak-

Enhauncyng
and imbasyng
of coynes.

Counterfayte
warres

The renewing
of olde lawes

Restraynites

inge forfaytes of them whome couetoufnes of gaynes
 Sellyng of h- hath brought in daunger of this statute, and
 cences also by sellinge priuileges and licences,
 whyche the better that the punce is forsothe, the deerer
 he felleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any
 priuate perfone anye thinge that is agaistne the proffite
 of his people. And therefore maye fel none but at an
 exceeding dere pryce An other gnueth the kynge coun-
 sel to endaunger vnto his grace the iudges of the
 Realme, that he maye haue them euer on his side, and
 that they maye in euerye matter despute and reason for
 the kynges right Yea and further to call them into his
 palace and to require them there to argue and discusse
 his matters in his owne presence. So there shalbe no
 matter of his so openlye wronge and vniuste, wherein
 one or other of them, either because he wyl haue sum-
 thinge to allege and obiecte or that he is ashamed to
 saye that whiche is fayde alreadye, or els to pike a
 thanke with his prince, wil not fynde some hole open to
 set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in
 a tripp. Thus whiles the judges cannot agree amonges
 them selfes, reasoninge and arguing of that which is
 playne enough, and bringinge the manifest trewthe in
 dowte: in the meane seafon the Kinge maye take
 a fyt occasion to vnderstand the lawe as shal moste
 make for his aduaantage, wherevnto all other for shame,
 or for feare wil agree Then the Judges may be
 bolde to pronounce on the kynges side. For he that
 gnueth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good
 excuse. For it shalbe sufficient for him to haue equitie
 on his part, or the bale wordes of the lawe, or a wry-
 then and wrefted vnderstandinge of the same (or els,
 whiche with good and iust Judges is of greater force then
 all lawes be) the Kynges indisputable prerogative To
 The sayng of conclude, al the counsellours agre and con-
 tie Crassus sent together with the ryche Crassus, that
 no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince,
 which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: further-
 more that a kynge, though he would, can do nothinge

vniustlye. For all that all men haue, yea also the men them selfes be all his. And that euery man hath so much of his owne, as ye kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe mooste for the kinges aduan-tage, that his subiectes haue very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whose fauegarde doth herein confiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, vniuste, and vnlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade and pouertie doth holde downe and kepe under stowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebell ynge stomakes. Here agayne if I shoulde ryse vp, and boldelye affirme that all these counfelles be to the kinge dishonoure and reproche, whose honoure and safetye is more and rather suppoited and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures and if I should declare that the comminaltie chueseth their king for their owne sake, and not for his sake to the intent, that through his laboure and studie they might al liue wealthily sauffe from wronges and iniuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a shephearde is in that he is a shepherde, to feede his shepe rather then him-selfe. For as towchinge this, that they thinke the de-fence and mayntenaunce of peace to confiste in the pouertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For wher shal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more desierous of newe mutations and altera-tions, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a huilieburlye (therby trufstinge to get some windfal) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leefe? And yf any Kyng were so smally regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yea so behated of his subiectes, that

Pouertye the
mother of de-
bate and deca-
y of realmes

other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, fewerly it were better for him to forfake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes. whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maestie is lost. For it is againte the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer

A worthy saying of Fabrice ryche and welthie men, Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye one man to liue in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a iayler. To be shorte as he is a folyshe phisition, that cannot cure his patientes diseafe, onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amend the liues of his subiectes, but be taking from them the wealthe and commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce vnhonest pleafures, and forfake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that caufe hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not aboue his power. Let hym restreyne wyckednes. Let him preuente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderynge hys subiectes, and not by sufferynge wickednes to increase afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to haftie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hathe abrogated: specially fuche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of transgrefzion take fuche fynes and forfaytes, as no Iudge wyll suffre a priuate perfone to take, as vniuste and ful of gile

A fleasinge and notable lawe of the Macarians. Here if I should bryng forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shal never at anye time haue

in hys treasure aboue a thousande pounde of golde or syluer. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditye of his countrey, then for th[e] enriching of him selfe, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording vp so muche money as might impoueryshe their people. For he forswa that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to 1e bell: and also to maintein his waires againste the inuasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceiued the same stocke of money to be to litle and vnsufficient to encourage and enhable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes. whyche was the chiefe caufe whie the lawe was made An other cause was this He thought that by this prouision his people shoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seynge the kynge could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in aboue the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he woulde feke no occasions to doe his subiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of euel men, and loued of good men These, and fuche other informations, yf I shoulde vfe among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarie part, how deaffe hearers thinke you shoulde I haue?

Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that fuche communication shalbe vfed, or fuche counsell geuen, as you be fuere shall never be regarded noi receaued. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye preuented: with cleane contrarye persuasions? This schole philosophie is not vnpleasaunte amoung frendes in familiare communication, but in the counselfes of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate autho-
 ritye, thefe things haue no place.

That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde philosophie hadde no place amoung kinges.

Schole philosophie in the consultations of
 Princes hath no place

In dede (quod I) this schole philosophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for euery place. But there is an other philosophye more ciuile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owne stafe, and thereaftir orderynge and behauinge her selfe in theplaye that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordingelye with comlyenes, vtteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and fassyon. And this is the philosophye that you muste vse. Or els whyles a A fine and a fitte similitude commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen skoffynge and tryffelinge amonge them selfes, yf you shoulde sodenlye come vpon the stafe in a Philosophers apparrell, and reherse oute of Octavia the place wherein Seneca disputeth A dumme plauer with Nero. had it not bene better for you to haue played the domme perfone, then by rehersyng that, whych serued neither for the tyme nor place to haue made suche a tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in other stiffe that nothinge apperteynethe to the prefente matter, you muste nedes marre and peruert the play that is in hand, thoughe the stiffe that you bringe be muche better. What part foever you haue taken vpon you, playe that aswell as you can and make the best of it: And doe not therefore disturbe and bryng oute of ordre the whole matter, bycause that an other, whyche is meryer and better cummethe to your remembraunce. So the case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf euel opinions and nougaty persuasions can not be vtterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not euen as you wolde remedy vices, which vse and custome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leaue and forfiske the common wealthe: you muste not forfiske the shippe in a tempeste, becaufe you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you muste not laboure to dryue into their heades newe and straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regarded wthy them that be of cleane contrary

mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studye and endeuoure youre selfe, asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handefomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not uerye badde. For it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothinge elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I shoulde be euen as madde as they. For if I wolde speake suche thinges that be trewe I must neades speake suche thinges: but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, thoughe peraduenture it maye seeme vnplesaunte to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde seeme straunge, or folisheлыe newfangled. If so be that I should speake those thinges that Plato fayneth in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, these thingesthoughe they were (as they bein dede) The Utopia
weale publique better, yet they myghte seeme spoken oute of place. Forasmuche as here amonges vs, euerye man hathe his possessions feuerall to him selfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Sauynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determined with them selfes to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleasaunt, because it call- eth them backe, and sheweth them the ieopardies, Verilye yf all thynges that euel and vitiouse maners haue caused to seeme inconueniente and noughte should be refused, as thinges vnmete and reprochfull, then we must among Christen people wynke at the mooste parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught vs, and so streatly forbad them to be winked at, yat those thinges also whiche he whispered in ye eares of his disciples he

commaunded to be proclaimed in open houies. And yet ye most parte of them is more diffident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers sle and wlie men followynge youre counsel (as I suppose) bicause they saw men euel willing to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they haue wrested and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade haue applyed it to mennes manners: that by some meanes at the leaste waye, they myghte agree together Whereby I can not see what good they haue done: but that men may more fickerlye be euell. And I truelye shoulde preuaile euen as litle in kinges counfelles For either I muste faye otherwayes then they faye, and then I were as good to faye nothinge, or els I muste faye the same that they faye, and (as Mitio saith in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and subtil traine of yours, I can not perceave to what purpose it serueth, wherewith you wolde haue me to study and endeuoure my selfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handisomely for the puipose, yat as farre forth as is possible they, may not be very euel. For there is no place to diffemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counfelles muste be openlye allowed and verye pestilent decrees muste be approued. He shalbe counted worse then a spye, yea almoste as euel as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayfe euel and noyesome decrees. Moreouer a man canne haue no occasion to doe good, chaunsinge into the compayne of them, whych wyl soner peruerte a good man, then be made good them selfes: through whose euel company he shalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others shalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is imposible with that craftye wyele, and subtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherfore Plato by a goodlye similitude declarereth, why wife men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they see the people swarne into the stretes, and daily wet to the skinne with rayne, and yet can

not perſuade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their houſes, knowynge wel, that if they ſhoulde goe out to them, they ſhould nothinge preuayle, nor wynne ought by it, but with them be wette alſo in the raine, they do kepe them ſelues within their houſes, being content that they be ſaffe them ſelues, ſeinge they can- not remedye the follye of the people. Howe be it doubtleſſe maifter More (to ſpeke truelye as my mynde geueth me) where poſſeſſions be priuate, where money bearethe all the ſtroke, it is harde and almoſte imposſible that there the weale publique maye iuftelye be gouerned, and proſperouſlye floryſhe. Onles you thinke thus · that Iuſtice is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of euell men, or that proſperitye there floryſſheth, where all is diuided amoungē a fewe : whyche fewe neuertheleſſe doe not leade thei're liues very wealthely, and the reſydewe lyue myſerablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye Wherefore when I conſyder with my ſelfe and weye in my mynde the wyſe, and godlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amoungē whome with verye fewe lawes all thinges be ſo wel and wealthe- lye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and estimation, and yet all thinges beinge there common, euerye man hath aboundaunce of euerye thinge Againe on the other part, when I compare with them ſo manye na- tions euer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and ſufficientlye, furnyſhed with lawes: where euerye man calleth that he hathe gotten, his owne proper and priuate goodes, where ſo many newe lawes daylye made be not ſufficiente for euerye man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controuerſies in the lawe, dayle ryfynge, neuer to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. These thinges (I ſay) when I conſider with me ſelfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marueille, that he woulde make no lawes for them, that refuſed thoſe lawes, whereby all men ſhoulde haue and enioye equall portions of welthes and commodities.

Plato wylded
al things in a
common wealth
to be commen

For the wife man did easely foresee, this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equaltye of all thinges should be broughte in and stablyshed. Whyche I thinke is not possible to be obserued, where euerye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. For where euerye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe asmuch as he can, so that a fewe deuide among them selfes all the whole riches, be there neuer so muche abundaunce and stoure, there to the residewe is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter forte is more worthye to enioye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by theire daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to them selfes. Thus I doe fullye perfiuade me selfe, that no equall and iuste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe shall euer be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shal remaine among the most and best part of men the heuy, and ineuitable burden of pouerty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I vtterly denye that it can wholy be taker away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should posseffe aboue a certeine measure of grounde, and that no man shoulde haue in his stocke aboue a prescripte and appointed some of money · if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge shoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, and that offices shoulde not be obteined by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyttes: that they shoulde neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedeful for the officers, to be at any cost or charge in their offices · for so occasion is geuen to theym by fraude and rauin to gather vp their money againe, and by reasoun of giftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which shoulde rather haue bene

executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wont with continual good cheriffig to be kept and botched vp for a time: so these euels also might be lightened and mitigated. But yat thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and vpryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maister of his owne to him selfe Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you shall make bygger the sore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geuen to annye one, onles it be taken from an other

But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thinketh that men shal neuer there liue wealthelye, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundance of gooddes, or of any thing, where euery man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines drieueth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens trauayles maketh him flowthfull Then when they be pricked with pouertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, shal not there of necessitie be continual sedition and blodeshed? Speciallye the authoritey and reuerence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye haue with such men amoung whome is no difference, I cannot deuise.

I maruel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion For you conceaue in youre minde either none at al, or els a verye false Image and similitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentelye sene theire fasshions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knownen here: Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you neuer sawe people wel ordered, but onlye there.

Surely (quod maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that

newe lande, then is here in these countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be awel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theires: wherin long vse and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye thinges heare amonge vs haue bene founde by chaunce, which no wytte colde euer haue deuyfed.

As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better rudge, if you had red the histories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleue, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge soeuer hetherto by witte hath bene deuised, or found by chaunce, that myght be awel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte. yet in study, in trauaile, and in laboursome endeououre they farre passe vs. For (as theire Chronicles testifie) before our arriall there, they neuer had any thing of vs, whome they cal the vltraequinoctiales: sauing that ones about M CC [twelve hundred]yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driuen thether by tempest. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that neuer wente thence Marke nowewhat profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and earneste trauaile. There was no crafte nor scyence within the impire of Rome wherof any profite could rise, but they either lerned it of these straungers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that euer anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten, that euer I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoste at the first meting, made theire owne, what soeuer is amonge vs wealthelye deuised: so I suppose it wolde be long before we wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge them is better instituted then amonge vs.

And this I suppose is the chiefe cause whie their common wealthes be wyselyer gouerned, and doe flowыш in more wealthe, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maister Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beseeche you describe vnto vs the Ilande. And study not to be shorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their riuers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be shor al thinges, that you shal thinke vs desierous to knowe And you shal thinke vs desierous to know what foever we knowe not yet.

There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all these thinges I haue freſhe in mind. But ye matter requireth leaſure.

Let vs go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure.

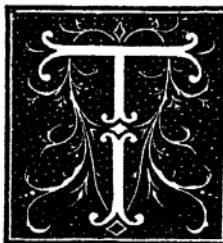
Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyned When dinner was done, we came into the fame place again, and fate vs downe vpon the fame benche, commaunding oure seruauntes that no man should trouble vs. Then I and Maister Peter Giles desiered maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore feing vs desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had fit ful and paused a litle while, musing and bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the Firste boke.

The seconde boke of the communication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concer- nyng the best state of a common wealth conteyninge the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the poli- tike gouernemente, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

The sice and
fashion of the
newe ylande
Utopia



He Iland of Utopia, con-
teynethe in breadthe in
the middel parte of it
(for there it is brodest)
CC. [two hundred]
miles Which bredthe
continueth throughe
the mooste parte of the

lande Sauing that by litle and litle it commeth in, and waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Which fetch-
ing about a circuite or compasse of V.C. [five hundred] Miles, do fassion ye whole Iland like to ye new mone.
Betwene these two corners the sea runneth in, diuidyng
them a sonder by the distaunce. of. xi miles or there
aboutes, and there furmountethe into a large and wyde
sea, which by reason that the land on euery fide com-
passethe it about, and shiltreth it from the windes, is not
roughe, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almost
floweth quietlye, not muche vnlke a greate standinge
powle: and maketh welnieghe all the space within the
bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen: and to the
greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth in

shyppes towardes euerye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the. ii. corners, what with fordes and shelues, and what with rockes be verye ieoperdous and daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe standeth vp aboue the water a greate rocke, which therfore is nothing perilous bycause it is in sight. Vpon the top A place naturally fenced nedeth but one garrison of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyng hidde vnder the water, which therfore be daungerous. The channelles be knownen onely to themselfes. And therfore it seldome chaunceth that anye straunger onelis he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this hauen. In so muche that they themselfes could skafelye entre withoute ieoperdie, but that theire way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes standinge on the A politique deuse in the chaunging of land markes shore. By turninge, translatinge, and remouinge thies markes into other places they maye destroye theire enemies nauies, be they neuer so many. The out side or vtter circuite of ye land is also ful of hauens, but the landing is so fuerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanshyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryue backe many armies. Howbeit as they faye, and as the fassion of the place it selfe dothe partly shewe, it was not euer compassed about with the sea. But kyng Utopus, The Ilande of Utopia so named of king Utopus whose name, as conquerour the Illand bear- eth (For before his tyme it was called A- braxa) which also broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humanite, and ciuile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al ye people of the world. euen at his firste arriuinge and enteringe vpon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, caused. xv [fifteen] myles space of vplandyfhe grounde, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged vp.

And so brought the sea rounde aboue the lande. He set to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the

Ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelye and despyte) but also all his owne
 Many handes
 make light
 worke
 foldiours Thus the worke beyng diuided
 into so greate a numbre of workemen, was
 with exceedinge maruelous spedē dyspatched In so
 muche that the borderers, whiche at the firſte began to
 mocke, and to ieste at this vaine enterpryſe, then turned
 theiſre deriſion to marueyle at the ſucceſſe, and to feare.

Cities in Uto- There be in the Ilande. liii. [fifty four] large
 pia and faire cities, or ſhiere townes, agreynge all
 together in one tonge, in lyke maners, iſtitucionſ, and
 lawes. They be all ſet and ſituate a lyke,

Similitude
 caueth con- and in al poyn̄tes fashioned alyke, as farforthe
 corde as the place or plotte ſufferethe

A meane diſ- Of theſe cities they that be nighere together be, xxiiii. [twenty four] myles aſonder.
 taunce be- Againe there is none of them diſtaunce from
 twene citie and citie

the nexte aboue one dayes iorneye a fote. There com
 yearly to Amaurote out of euery cytie. iii old men wyſe
 and well experienced, there to entreat and debate, of
 the common matters of the land. For this citie (be
 cause it standeth iuſte in the middes of the Ilande, and
 is therefore moſte mete for the ambaffadours of all
 partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade
 citie. The precinctes and boundes of the ſhieres be ſo
 commodiousflye appoynted oute, and ſet

The diſtribu- fourthe for the cities, that none of them all
 tion of landes haſthe of anye fyde leſſe then xx. [twenty] myles of grounde,
 and of ſome fyde alſo muche more, as of that paſt where

But this now the cities be of farther diſtaunce aſonder.
 adaiers is the None of the cities deſire to enlarge the
 grounde of all boundes and limites of theiſre ſhieres. For
 mischeife them ſelues rather the good hufbandes, then

Huſbandrie and the countrey in all partes of the ſhiere
 tillage cheifly houses or fermes buildded, wel appointed
 and principally and furnyſhed with all iortes of iſtrumentes
 regarded and aduaunced and tooles belongyngē to huſbandrye.

These houses be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come

thereto dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then. xl [forty] perones men and women, besydes two bondmen, whyche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete, and aunciente persones. And e very. xxx. [thirty] fermes or families haue one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe Out of euery one of these families or fermes commeth euerye yeare into the citie. xx. [twenty] persones whiche haue continewed. ij. yeres before in the countreye In their place so manye freshe be sent thereto oute of the citie, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed and taughte And they the nexte yeare shall teache other. This order is vsed for feare that either skarfenes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, through lacke of knowledge yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and vnexperte in husbandrie. This maner and fassion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne and customablye vsed, to th[e] intent that no man shall be constrainyd againste his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and sharpe kynnde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue suche a pleasure and delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares These husbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede vp cattel, and prouide and make ready wood, whyche they carrie to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moste conueniently They brynge vp a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a meruayloufe policye. For the hennes dooe not sytten vpon the egges. but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche them. The chykens, assone as they be come oute of the shel, follow men and women in steade of the hennes. They brynge vp verye fewe horses nor none, but very fearece ones; and that for none other vse or purpose, but onlye to

The dueties of
men of husbandrye.

A straunge
fassion in hat-
chinge and
bringing vp
of pulleyne

The vse of
horses

exercyse theire youthe in rydynge and feates of armes.

The vse of Oxen For oxen be put to all the laboure of plow-
yng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses at a fodeyne brunte, and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wl abide and suffre muche more laboure, payne and hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subiect vnto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and maaintained with muche lesse coste and charge. and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past laboure. They sowe **Bread and drinke** corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe made of honey or licouresse sodde[n] in water, for thereof they haue great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitailes the citie wylh the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboue it doeth **A great discretion in sowing of corne** spende: Yet they sowe muche more corne, and bryed vp muche more cattell, then serueth for theirowne vse, partyng the ouer plus among their borderers. What soeuer necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stufte they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For euery moneth manie of them go into the citie on the hollye daye When theyr haruest day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, seid **Mutual helpe quicklye dispacheth** worde to the magistrates of the citie what nombre of haruest men is nedefull to be sent to them oute of the citie The whiche compayne of haruest men beyng readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispacheth all the haruest woorke.

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.


 S for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be al so like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignitie. For the resideu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloued, as wherein I liued fие whole yeares together. The The description of Amaurote the chiefest Cite in Utopia citie of Amaurote standeth vpon the syde of a lowe hill in fashyon almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, and still continueth by ye space of two miles, vntill it come to the ryuer of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryuers syde, is sumwhat more. The ryuer of Anyder The description of the ryuer of Anyder riseth four and twentie myles aboue Amaurote out of a little springe. But beyng increased by other smale ryuers and broukes that runne into it, and amonge other two sumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is half a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyond the citie it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that liethe betwene the sea and the citie, and certen myles also aboue the citie the water ebbeth and floweth fixe houres together with a swift tide. Whan the sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salt water, and droweth backe the freshe water The verie like in England in the ryuer of Thamys of the ryuer. And sumwhat further it chaungeth the swetenes of the freshe water with saltines. But a litle beyonde that the ryuer waxeth swete, and

runneth foreby the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste euen to the verie fal into the

Herein also
doeth London
agre with A-
maurote

sea Ther goeth a bridge ouer the riuier made not of piles or of timber, but of stonewaik with gorgious and substancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea : to the intent that shippes maye

passe alonge forbie all the fide of the citie without let. They haue also an other riuier which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gently and pleasauntly.

For it riseth euen oute of the same hill that the citie standeth vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it riseth a litle withoutte the citie, the Amaurotians haue inclosed the head springe of it, with stonge fences and bulwarkes, and so haue ioyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water shoulde not be

The vse of stopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if
freshe water their enemies should chaunce to come vpon them From thence the water is deriuied and conueied

downe in cannels of bricke diuers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather ye raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth

The defence of them as good seruice. The citie is com-
towne walles passed aboute with a heigh and thicke stone walle full of turrets and bulwarkes. A drie

diche, but deape, and biode, and ouergrownen with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre fides or quarters of the city. To the fourth fide the riuier it

selfe serueth for a ditche. The stretes be

Stretes appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also againste the Buildinges and windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete fide they stande ioyned together in a long rowe through the whole streate without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe fide of

the houies through the whole length of the
streete, lye large gardens inclosed rounde
aboute wyth the backe part of the streetes.
Euerye house hathe two doores, one into
the streete, and a posterne doore on the backsyde into
the garden. These doores be made with two leaues,
neuer locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that
they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger, and
shutte againe alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there
is nothinge within the houies that is pri-
uate, or anie mans owne. And euery tenth
yeare they chaunge their houses by lot.
They set great store by their gardeins. In
them they haue vineyarde, all maner of fruite, herbes,
and flowres, so pleasaunt, so well furnished, and so
fynely kepte, that I neuer sawe thynge more frute-
full, nor better trimmed in anye place.
Their studie and diligence herein commeth
not onely of pleasure, but also of a certen
strife and contention that is betwene strete
and strete, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and fur-
nishing of their gardens: euerye man for his owne parte.
And verelye you shall not lightelye finde in all the cite
anyethinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the pro-
fite of the Citizens, or for pleasure. And therfore it maye
seme that the first founder of the citie mynded nothing
so much, as these gardens. For they faye that kinge
Utopus him selfe, euen at the first beginning appointed,
and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this
fashion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant gar-
nishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto
he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice: that he
left to his posteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they
kepe written with all deligente circumspecction, contein-
ynge the historie of. M. vii. C. lx. [one thoufand seven
hundred and sixty] yeares, euen from the firste con-
quest of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the
houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely
cottages or poore sheppard houies, made at all aduen-

To euery dwell-
ing house a
garden platte
adioyninge.

This geere
smellethe of Pla-
to his com-
munitie

The commo-
ditie of gardens
is commended
also of Vergile

tures of euerye rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged rooffes, thatched ouer with strawe. But nowe the houes be curiouflye buylded after a gorgious and gallante forte, with three storyes one ouer another. The outsides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaster, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes be well strengthened with tymber work. The roofes be plaine and flat, couered with a certen kinde of plaster that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth the violence of the wether better

Glazed or can-
used win-
dowes then any leade. They kepe the winde
oute of their windowes with glasse, for
it is ther much vsed, and somhere also
with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or am-
bre, and that for two commodities.

For by thys meanes more
lighte commeth in, and
the winde is better
kepte oute

C Of the magistrates.



A trambore in
the Utopiane
tonge signifieth
a head or chief
peere

A maruelous
strzung fass-
on in chusinge
magistrates

Verye thirtie families or fermes, chuese them
yerely an officer, which in their olde lan-
guage is called the Sypograunte, and by
a newer name the Philarche. Euery ten
Sypograuntes, with al their thirtie families
be vnder an officer which was ones called
the Trambore, nowe the chiefe Philarche.
Moreouer as concerninge the election of
the Prince, all the Sypograuntes, which
be in number. 200. first be sworne to chuese, him
whom they thinke mooste mete and ex-
pediente. Then by a secrete election, they
name prince one of those iij. whome the
people before named vnto them. For oute of the. iij.
quarters of the citie there be iij. chosen, oute of

euyer quarter one, to stande for the election : Whiche be put vp to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tirannie. They chuese the Tranibores

Tyranny in a
wel ordered
weale publique
utterlie to be
abhorred.

yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euerye thyrde daye, and sumtimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counsell house with the prince. Their counsell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be any controuersies amonge the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they dispatch and ende them by and by. They take euer. ij Siphograuntes to them in counsel, and eueri dai a new decoupel. And it is prouided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe shalbe confirmed and ratified, onlesse it haue bene reasoned of and debated thre daies in the counsell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye consultation for the common wealthe

Sutes and con-
trouersies be-
twene partie and
partie furth-
with to be en-
ded which now
a daies of a set
purpose be un-
reasonably de-
layed

Against hastie
and rash de-
crys or statu-
tes.

oute of the counsell, or the place of the common election. This statute, they faye, was made to the entente, that the prince and Tranibores might not easilie conspire together to oppresse the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the state of the weale publik. Therfore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election house of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they haue consulted amonge themselues, they shew their devise to the counsell. Somtime the matter is broughte before the counsel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this custome also the counsel vseth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same daye that it is firste proposed or put furthe, but to deferre it to the nexte syttinge of the counsell. Because that no man when he hath rashely there spoken that commeth to his tonges ende, shall then afterwarde rather studye for

A custome wor-
thy to be vset
these daies in
our counsels
and parlia-
mentes.

reasons wherewith to defende and mainteine his ffolish sentece, than for the commoditie of ye common wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hindraunce of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of his owne existimation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a very folishe shame) to be counted anye thing at the firsfe ouersene in the matter Who at the first ought to haue spoken rather wyselye, then hastylye, or rashlye.

¶ Of Sciences, Craftes and Occupations.

Husbandrie
or tillage practi-
sed of all estates,
which now
a dayes is relect
vnto a fewe of
the basest sort



Vsbandrie is a Science common to them all ingeneral, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructe euen from their youth. partie in their schooles with traditions and preceptes, and partie in the countrey nigh the citie, brought vp as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the vse of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I faide) is common to them all, euerye one of them learneth one or other feuerial and particular science, as his owne proper crafte. That is most commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masourie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth vse there. For their garmentes, which through-
Similitude in
apparrell
oute all the Ilande be of one fashyon, (fauyng that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the maried and the vnmaried) and this one continueth for

euermore vnchaunged, semely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the mouynge and weldynge of the bodye, alſo fytle both for wynter and ſummer: as for theſe garmentes (I faye) euery familie maketh their owne But of the other foreſaide craftes euerye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but alſo the women But the women, as the weaker ſort, be put to the eaſier craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe The more laborfome ſciences be committed to the men. For the mooste part euery man is broughte vp in his fathers crafte. For moſte commonlye they be naturallie thereto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde ſtande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth moſt fantasfy Whome not onely his father, but alſo the magiſtrates do diligenty loke to, that he be put to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea, and if anye perſon, when he hath learned one crafte, be defierous to learne alſo another, he is likewyſe ſuffered and permitted.

No citizen without a ſcience

To what occupation every-one is naturallie inclined that let him learne.

When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll: oneleſſe the citie haue more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooste the onelye offyce of the Syphograuntes is, to ſee and take hede, that no manne ſit idle. but that euerye one applye hys owne craft with earnest diligēnce. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the eueningne, with continual worke, like labouringe and toylinge beaſtes.

Idel perſones to be druen out of the weale publice

For this is worfe then the miſerable and wretched condition of bondemen Whiche neuertheleſ is almooste euerye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, ſauing in Utopia For they diuidynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiii. iuſte houres, appointe and affigne onelye fiſe of thoſe houres to worke before noone, vpon the whiche they go ſtreighe to dinner. and after dinner, when they haue reſted two houres.

A moderation in the laboure and toyle of artificers

then they worke iii. houres and vpon that they go to supper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eueninge (coun-tinge one of the clocke at the firste houre after noone) they go to bedde : eyght houres they geue to slepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, every man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to th[e] intent that they shold mispend this time in riote or flouthfulnes : but beyng then licensed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thrifte-lye vpon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solempne custome there, to haue lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chosen and appoynted to

The studie of learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of good literature euery fort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as euerye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science liberal) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also prayfed and commended, as profitable to the common Playing after supper wealthe. After supper they bestow one supper

houre in playe: in summer in their gardens : in winter in their commen halles. where they dine and suppe. There they exercise themselues in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication Dice-playe, and fuche other folishe and pernicious games they

But now a-dates diceplay is the pastime of princes

know not. But they vse ij. games not much vnlike the chefse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stallethe awaie another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed, both the striffe and discorde that vices haue amonge themselfes, and agayne theire vnitye and concorde againste vertues : And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues :

Plaies or games also profitable

with what powre and strength they affaile them openlye: by what wicles and subtelty they assaulte them secretelye: with what helpe and aide the vertues refiste, and ouercome the puissance of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes. and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here least you be deceaued, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly vpon For seinge they bestowe but. vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye ensewe But this is nothinge so For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the stoore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necesitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceave, if you weye and consider with your selfes how great a part of the people in other contrees lyueth ydle. First almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonlye in their steade the men be ydle. Befydes this how greate, and how ydle a compayne is there of preystes, and reliygious men, as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men Take into this numbre also theireferuauntes. I meane all that flocke of stoute bragging ruffhe bucklers. Ioyne to them also sturdy and valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle the coloure of some disease or fickenes And trulye you shal find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these thinges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye vsed and frequented. Nowe confyder with youre selfe, of these fewe that doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in necessarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the swinge, there many vayne and superfluous occupations must nedes be vsed, to serue only for ryotous, superfluite, and vnhoneſt

The kyndes
and sortes of
ydel people

Women

Priestes and
religious men
Riche men and
landed men

Seruyngmen

lyfe vnder

Sturdy and
valiaunt
beggers

Wonderfull
wittely spoken.

pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were deuided into so fewe occupations as the necessarye vse of nature requyreth: in so greate plentye of thinges as then of necessity woulde ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifciers to maynteyne theire liunges. But yf all these that be nowe busied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyue ydellye and flouthfullye, whyche consume and waste euerye one of them more of these thinges that come by other mens laboure, then. ij of the workemen themselfes doo yf all these (I faye) were sette to profitable occupatyon: you easelye perceave howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to stooie vs with all thinges that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it selfe makethe manifeste and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or shiere adioyning to it scafelye. 500 persons of al ye whole numbre of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from laboure. A-

Notasmuche
as the magi-
strates liue
idelly

monge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe thought they be by the lawes exempte and priuileged from labour) yet they exempte not themselves. to the intent that they may the rather by theu example prouoke other to worke. The same vacation from labour do they also enioye, to whome the people perfuaded by the commendation of the piefestes, and secrete election of the Siphograuntes, haue geuen a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge. But if any one of them proue not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wifre, often it chaunceth that a handicrafte man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence so profyteth therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this

orde of the learned be chosen ambaſia-
dours, prieſtes, Tranibores, and finallye the
prince him ſelue. Whome they in theire olde
tonge cal Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus.
The reſidewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet
occupied about vnprofitable exerciſes, it may be eaſely
iudged in how fewe houres how muche good woorke
by them may be doone and diſpatched, towardeſ those
thinges yat I haue ſpoken of. This commodity they
haue alſo aboue other, yat in the moſt part of neceſſarye
occupations they neade not ſo much work, as other
nations doe. For firſt of all ye buildinge or
repayringe of houses asketh euerye where
ſo manye mens continual labour, bicaufe yat

Only learned
men called to
offices.

the vnthrifte heire ſuffereth ye houſes that his father
buyldeſ in contyneauance of tyme to fall in decay. So
that which he myghte haue vpholden wyth lytle coſte,
hys ſuccesſoure is conſtreynd to buylde it agayne a
newe, to his great charge Yea manye tymes alſo the
houſe that ſtoode one man in muche moneye, another
is of ſo nyce and ſoo delycate a mynde, that he ſettethe
nothinge by it. And it beynge neglected, and therefore
hortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldeſ the vppe
another in an other place with no leſſe coſte and
chardge But amouge the Utopians, where all thinges
be ſett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a
good ſtaye, it very ſeldome chaunceth, that they cheufe
a newe plotte to buylde an houſe vpon. And they doo
not only finde ſpedy and quicke remedies for preſent
faultes: but alſo preuentē them that be like to fall. And
by this meanes their houſes continewe and laſte very
longe with liſle labour and ſmal reparations: in ſo much
that this kind of woorkmen ſomtimes haue almoſt nothi-
ngē to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe
timbre at home, and to ſquare and trimme vp ſtones,
to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the
ſpedelier riſe Now Syr in theire apparell,
marke (I praye you) howe few woorkmen
they neade Fyrſte of al, whyles they be at

How to auoyd
excessive coſt
in building.

How to leſſen
the charge in
apparell

woorke, they be couered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last. vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caste vpon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one colore, and that is the natural colore of the wul. They therefore do not only speid much lesse wullen clothe then is spente in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse coste. But lynen clothe is made with lesse laboure, and is therefore hadde more in vse. But in lynen cloth onlye whytenesse, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of ye threde, that is no thinge passed for. And this is the cause wherfore in other places iiiii or v clothe gownes of dyuers coloures, and as manye filke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyse sorte. x. [ten] be to fewe whereas there one garmentewyl serue a man mooste commenlye. ij. yeares. For whie shoulde he defyre moo? seinge yf he had them, he should not be the better hapte or couered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the same craftes be sufficente, this is the cause that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable compayne of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times also, when they haue no suche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in worke. For the magistrates doe not exercise theire citizens againte theire willes in vnneadefull laboures. For whie in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chieflye pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all yat the citizeins shoulde withdrawe from the bodey seruice to the free libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitye of this liffe to confiste.

C Of theire liuinge and mutual conuersation together.

Bvt nowe wil I declare how the citizens vse them selfes one towardes another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement, there is amonge the people, and what fassion they vse in the distribution of euery thing. Firste the city confissteth of families, the families most commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire husbandes houses. But the male children, with al the whole male offspring continewe still in their owne family and be gouerned of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to The numbre
th[e]intentye prescript number of the citezens
of citizens. shoulde neither decrease, nor aboue measure increase, it isordeined that no familie which in euery citie be vi. thousand in the whole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones haue fewer children of the age of. xiii. yeares or there about then. x or mo then. xvi. for of children vnder this age no numbre can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or numbre is easely obserued and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be aboue the number into families of smal-ler increase. But if chaunce be that in ye whole citie the stooore increase aboue the iust number, therewith they fil vp ye lacke of other cities. But if so be yat the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe and excede the dewe number, then they chuse out of every citie certaine citezens, and build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes haue muche waste and vnoccupied ground, receauing also of the same contrey people to them, if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They thus ioyning

and dwelling together do easelye agre in one fassion of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples For they so bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabautes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of those boundes which they haue limited, and apointed out for them selues. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them. For they counte this the mooste iuste cause of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vse, kepyng other from the vse and possession of it, whiche notwithstandingyng by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryshed and relieved If anye chaunce do so muche diminishe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without the diminishyng of the iust numbre of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse fynce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plague) then they fulfill and make vp the numbre with cytezens fethched out of theire owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then any cytie of theire owne Ilande to be diminished. But nowe agayne to the conuerstation of

So might we
well be dischar-
ged and eased
of the ydle com-
pany of ser-
uyngmen

the cytezens amonge themselves. The eldeste (as I sayde) rulethe the familye The wyfes bee ministres to theire husbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee shorte the yonger to theire elders Euery

Cytie is deuided into foure equal partes or quarters. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges Thether the workes of euery familie be brought into certeyne hou ses. And euerye kynde of thing is layde vp feuerall in bernes or store hou ses. From hence the father of euerye familie, or euerye hou sholderer fethcheth whatsoeuer he and his haue neade of, and carieth it away with him without money,

without exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye shoulde any thing be denied vnto him? feyngē there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, leste anye man wyll aske more then he neadeth. For whie should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then anough, which is fewer neuer to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyu-
 inge creatures either feare of lacke dothe The cause of
coueteus and
extortion
 cause couetousnes and rauyne, or in man only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Utopians can haue no place. Nexte to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruities of trees, with breading, but also fishe, and all maner of. iii. footed beastes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the renninge ryuer without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose From thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane wasshed by the handes of theire bondemen For they permitte not their frie citezens to accustome them selfes to the killing of beastes, through the vse whereof they thinke, clemencye the gentelest affection of oure nature by lytle and lytle to Of the slaughter
of beastes
we haue learned
manslaughter decaye and peryshe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthy, lothesom, or vnclyne, to be broughte into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases More-
 over euerye strete hath certeyne great large halles fett in equal distaunce one from another, euerye one knownen by a feuerall name. In these halles dwell the Sypograuntes. And to euerye one of the same halles be a poyncted xxx. [thirty] families, on either side. xv. [fifteen] The stewardes of euerye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyue meate accordyngē to Fylth and or-
dure bring the
infection of pe-
stilence into
Cyties the number of their halles.

Care, diligence
 and attendance
 about the sick
 But first and chieflie of all respect is had
 to the fycke, that be cured in the hospita-
 tales. For in the circuite of the citie, a
 litle without ye walles, they haue. iiiii hospitalles, so
 bigge so wyde, so ample, and so large, that they may
 feme nii little townes, which were deuised of yat bignes
 partly to th[e] intent the fycke, be they neuer so many
 in numbre, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte, and
 therfore vneasely, and incommodioufly: and paiteley
 that they which were taken and holden with contagious
 diseases, fuche as be wonte by infection to crepe from
 one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the
 company of ye residue. These hospitalles be so wel
 appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so
 furnished, and more ouer so diligent attendaunce through
 the continual presence of cunning phisitians is geuen,
 that though no man be sent thether against his will, yet
 notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in al the citie,
 that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne
 house. When the stewarde of the sicke hath receiued
 fuche meates as the phisitians haue prescribed, then the
 beste is equalleye deuised among the halles, according
 to the company of euery one, sauing that there is had
 a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, and
 to ambaffadours and all straungers, if there be any, which
 be verye fewe and seldome. But they also when they
 be there, haue certeyne feuerall houes apointed and
 prepared for them. To these halles at ye set houes
 of dinner and supper commeth all the whole Siphon-
 grauntie or warde, warned by ye noyse of a brasen
 trumpet: except fuche as be sicke in ye hospitalles, or
Every man is
 at his libertie
 so that nothing
 is done by
 compulsion
 els in their owne houes. Howbeit no
 man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles
 be serued, to fetch home meate out of ye
 market to his own house, For they knowe
 that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable.
 For though no man be prohibited to dyne at home,
 yet no man doth it willyngly: because it is counted a
 pointe of smal honestie. And also it were a follye to

take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile seruice, all flauery, and drudgerie, with all laboursome toyle, and base busines is done by bondemen. But the women Women bothe
dresse and serue
the meate of euery family by course haue the office the meate and charge of cookene for sethinge and the meate dressinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges theito belongyng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men sitte vpon the bench next the wall, and the women againte them on the other side of the table, that yf anye fodeyne euyll should chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye rise wythoute trouble or disturbance of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis sitte feuerall alone Nourceis with theyr younge fuckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the same purpose, neuer withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that whcn they wyl they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleasure take them oute of their swathynge clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Euery mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or fycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wiues of the Syphograuntes quyckelye prouyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo Nothing soner
prouoketh men
to well doyng
then praise and
commendation it, profer themselues to no seruice so gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is muche prayfed and the chylde that is nourished, euer after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nourceis, sytte all the children that be vnder the age of v yeares. All the other chyldren of The education
of yonge chil-
dren bothe kyndes, aßwell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of maryage, do eyther serue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge thereto, yet they stand by with maruailous silence. That whiche is geuen to them from the table they eate, and other feuera-

dynner tyme they haue none. The Siphograunte and his wife sitteth in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and because from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of the hall. To them be ioyned two of the auncientest and eldest. For at euerye table they sit foure at a meesie. But yf there be a church standing in yat Siphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both sydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte vnto

The yong mixt with their elders them againe olde men. And thus through out all the house euall of age be fette together, and yet be mixt and matched with

vnequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage grautie and reuerence of the elders should kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behauoure. Forasmuch as nothyng can be so secretlye spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one fide or on the other muste nedes perceave it. The dishes be not set down in order from

Olde men regarded and reuerenced. the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knownen) be first serued of their meate, and then the residue equally. The olde men deuide their deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche syde of them

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuerthelesse euall commoditie commeth to

This nowe a daies is obserued in oure vniuersities euery one. They begin euerye dinner and supper of redinge sumthing yat perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is shorte, becaus no man shalbe greued therwith. Hereof th[e] Talke at the table elders take occasion of honest communica-

tion, but neither sadde nor vnpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselues with longe and tedious talkes. but they gladly heare also the yonge men. yea, and purpofelye prouoke them to talke, to th[e] intent that they may haue

a profe of euery mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew and vtter it self. Their diners be This is repugnant to the opinion of our phisitions verie short: but their suppers be fumwhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth laboure, after supper slepe and natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no Musick at the table conceytes nor ionketes. They burne swete table gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasaunt smelles, and sprinckle aboue swete oyntementes and waters, yea, they leaue nothing vndone that maketh for the cheringe of the companye. For they be muche inclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, whereof Pleasure without harme not discommenda ble. commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this sort they liue togetheris in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from any neigboures, do dyne and suppe at home in their owne houses. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victionalles, as from whom commeth all that the citezens eate and lyue by.

COf their iourneyng or
trauayling abrode, with diuers
other matters cunninglye rea-
soned, and wytilye
discussed.

BVt if any be desierous to visite either theyr
frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to
see the place it selfe: they easelie obteyne
licence of their Siphograuntes and Tran-
bores, onlesse there be some profitable let.
No man goeth out alone but a companie is fente furth
together with their princes letters, which do testifie
that they haue licence to go that iourney, and pre-
scribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a
wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, which
drueth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But
onles they haue women in their companie, they fende
home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let.
And thoughe they carey nothyng furth with them, yet
in all their iorney they lack nothing. For whersoeuer
they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place
longer then one daye, than there euery one of them
falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly
enterteined of the workemen and companies of the
same craftes. If any man of his owne heade and with-
out leaue, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken
without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a
fugitiue or a runaway with great shame and rebuke,
and is sharplye punished. If he be taken in that fault
againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be de-
sirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the
countrye yat belongeth to the same citie that he dwell-
eth in, obteininge the good wl of his father, and the
confente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into
what part of ye contrei soeuer he commeth he hath no

meat geuen him vntil he haue wrought out his fore-nones taske, or diuisioned so muche work, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Obieruing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he shalbe no les profitable to ye citie, then if he were within it. Now you fe how litle liberte they haue to loiter: howe they can haue no cloke or pretence to ydlenes.

There be neither winetauernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of vice or wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counfels or vnlawfull assemblies. But they be in the presente fighete, and vnder the eies of euery man. So that of necessite they must either apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate them-selues with honest and laudable pastimes.

This fashion and trade of life, being vsed amonge the people, it cannot be chosene, but that they muste of necessite haue store and plentie of all things. And seyng they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whether, as I said, euery citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, affone as it is perfectly knownen of what thinges there is in euery place plentie, and againe what thinges be skant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and filled vp with the aboundinge of the other. And this they do freely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom ye thinges is giuen, but those cities that haue geuen of their store to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of ye fame citie, do take suche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gaue nothinge. So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or housholde. But when they haue made sufficient prouision of store for themselues (which they thinke not done, vntil they haue prouided for two yeres folowinge, because of the vncertentie of the next yeares

Oh holy common
wealth, and of
Christians to
be folowed.

Equaltie is
the cause that
every man hath
enoughe

A common
wealth is no
thing elles but
a great house-
hold

proffe) then of thos things, wherof they haue abundance, they carie furth into other countreis great

The traffique
and marchaundise
of the Uttopians plentie : as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyuinge beastes. And

the feuenth parte of all these thynges they

geue franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey.

The residewe they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and siluer, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but Iron. And by reason they haue longe vsed this trade, nowe they haue more aboundinge of these things, then anye man wyll beleue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els vpon truste to be payed at a daye, and to haue the mooste parte in debtes.

In all things
and aboue all
things to their
communitie they
haue an eye But in so doyng they neuer followe the credence of priuat men but the assuraunce or warrauntise of the whole citie, by instrumentes and wrtinges made in that behalfe

accordingly. When the daye of paient is come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtouies, and putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hathe the vse and profite of it, vntill the Uttopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooste parte

By what pollicie
money may
be in lesse esti-
mation of it they neuer aske. For that thyng whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no ighte nor conscience. But

if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debte: or when they haue warre. For the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all the treasure, whiche they haue, to be holpen and focoured by it either in extreame ieopardyes, or in suddeine daungers. But especiallye and chieflie to hiere therewith, and that for vnreasonable greate wayges, straunge soldiours. For they hadde rather put straungers in

ieopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowyng that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themselues manytimes may be boughte or folde, or elles through treafon be fette togetheres by the eares amoneg themselues For this caufe they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure but fo they haue it, and vſe it, as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe fearinge that my woordes shall not be beleued And this I haue more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultie and hardelye I meselfe would haue beleued an other man tellinge the fame, if I hadde not presentlye fene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better either with money or by policie to avoyde warre, then with muche losse of mans bloud to fight

For it muste neades be, that howe farre a thynge is diffonaunt and disagreing from the guise and trade of the hearers, fo farre shall it be out of their belefe Howebeit, a wife and indifferent estimer of thynge, will not greatlye marueill perchaunce, feyng all theyr other lawes and customes do fo muche differre from oures, yf the vſe also of gold and syluer amoneg them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themſelues, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, fo it maye be, that it shall neuer come to passe In the meane time golde and syluer, whereof money is made, they do fo vſe, as none of them doethe more esteme it, then the verye nature of the thing deserueth. And then who doeth not playnelye fe howe farre it is vnder Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and siluer nature hath geuen no vſe, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not fette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and louyng mother, hathe placed the beſte and mooste necessarie thinges open abroade. as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it ſelue. And hathe remoued and hyd far-

Golde worse
then yron as
touchyng the
necessarie vſe
therof

theſt from vs vayne and vnprofitable thinges. Therefore if theſe mettalles amoung them ſhoulde be faſte locked vp in ſome tower, it miſt be ſuſpected, that the prince and the counſell (as the people is euer foolishie ymagininge) intended by ſome ſubtiltie to deceaue the commons, and to take ſome proſite of it to themſelues. Furthermore if they ſhould make therof plate and ſuſh other fineſtie and cunninglie wroughte ſtuffe if at anye time they ſhould haue occaſion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their ſouldiers wages, they ſee and perceauē verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from thoſe thinges, that they ones begonne to haue pleaſure and delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreeable to all their other lawes and cuſtomes, ſo it is from ours, where golde is ſo much ſet by, and ſo diligenty kept, very farre diſcripant and repugnaunt: and therfore vncredible, but onelye to them that be wiſe For where as they eate and drinke in eaſthen and glaſſe veſſelles, whiche in dede be curiouſlie and pro-

O wonderfull perlie made, and yet be of very ſmall value. contumelie of of golde and ſyluer they make commonly golde chaumber pottes, and other veſſelles, that ſerue for moſte vile viſes, not onely in their common halles, but in euery mans priuate house. Furthermore of the fame mettalles they make greate chaimes, fet-

Golde the re- ters, and gieues wherin the[y] tie their bond- prochful badge men. Finally whofoeuer for anye offense of infamed per- be infamed, by their eares hange rynges sons

- of golde: vpon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaimes of golde and in conculion their headeſ be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes poſſible thei procure to haue golde and ſiluer among them in reproche and infamie And theſe mettalles, which other nations do as greuously and forowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne liues. if they ſhould altogethers at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinkē that he had loſt the worth of one farthing They ga-

ther also pearles by the sea side, and Diamondes and carbuncles vpon certen rockes, and yet they feke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of such ornamentos, so when they be a litle more grownen in yeares and discretion, perceiving that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them awaye euen of their owne shamefastenesse, wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: euen as oure chyldren, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therfore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fantasies alto and myndes they doo cause, dydde I neuer so playnelie perceauie, as in the Ambaffadours of the Anemolians.

These Ambaffadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreat of great and weightie matters, thosse three citizens a pece oute of euerie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambaffadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaued no honoure geuen to sumptuous apparell, filkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and simple araye. But the Anemolians because they dwell farre thence, and had very litle a[c]quaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wise: determinyd in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to reprefente verye goddes, and wyth the brighte shyninge and glisterynge of their gay clothing to dafell the eyes of the filie poore Utopians. So there came in. iii. Ambaffadours with. c. [an hundred] seruauntes all apparelled in

Gemmes and
precious sto-
nes, toyes for
yonge children
to playe with-
all

A very plea-
sant tale

chaungeable coloura the moste of them in filkes· the Ambassadours themselves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles and precious stones: to be short trimmed, and adourned with al those thinges, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed persones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue sene howe prioudelye they displayed their pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of their paynted sheathes, and howe loftely they set forth and aduaunced them selfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were swarmed forth into the stretes. And on the other fide it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they mised of their purpose being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they should haue bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some resonable cause, al that gorgeoufnes of apparel seemed shamefull and reprocheful. In so muche that they most reuerently saluted the vleſt and most abiect of them for lordes: paffing ouer the Ambassadours themselves without any honour iudging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you shoulde haue sene children alio, that had caste away their peerles and pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking vpon the Ambassadours cappes: digge and pushe theirre mothers vnder the fides, sainge thus to them Loke mother O wittie head how great a lubbor doth yet were peerles and precious stoones, as though he were a litel child stil But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest: peace sone, saithe she: I thinke he be some of the Ambassadours fooles. Some founde faulte at theirre

golden cheines, as to no vse nor purpose, being so small and weake, that a bondeman might easely breake them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne awaie at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambas- fadoures hadde bene there a daye or. ii and sawe so greate abundaunce of gold so lyghtely esteemed, yea in no lesse reproche, then it was with them in honour: and besides that more golde in the cheines and gieues of one fugitue bondman, then all the costelye orna- mentes of them. iii. was worth they beganne to abate their courage, and for very shame layde away al that gorgyouse arraye, whereof they were so proud. And spe- ciallyl when they had talked familiarlye with the Uto- pians, and had learned al theire fassions and opinions.

For they marueyle that any men be so fol- yfhe, as to haue delite and pleasure in the doubtful glisteringe of a lyl tryffelyng stone, which maye beholde anye of the starres, or elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anye man is so madde, as to count him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in neuer so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe did ones weare: and yet was she all that time no other thing then a shepe. They marueile also that golde, whych of the owne na- ture is a thinge so vnprofytalbe, is nowe amonge all people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by whome, yea and for the vse of whome it is so muche set by, is in muche lesse estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so muche that a lumpyfhe blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an asse, yea and as ful of nougtynes as of follye, shall haue neuertheles manye wyfe and good men in subiectyon and bondage, only for this, bycause he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf it shoulde be iaken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle and cautele of the lawe, (whyche no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raife vp the lowe, and plucke

Doubtful he calleth it, either in consideracion and respecte of counterfeite stones, or elles he calleth doubtful very littel worthe

A true saing
and a wittie

downe the highe) and be geuen to the moste vile flauue
 and abiect dryuell of all his housholde, then shortely
 after he shal goo into the seruice of his seruaunt, as an
 augmentation nor ouerplus beside his money. But they
 Howe muche
 more witte is
 in the heads
 of the Utopi-
 anes then of the
 common sorte
 of christianes
 muche more maruell at and detest the mad-
 nes of them, whyche to those riche men,
 in whose debte and daunger they be not
 do gue almost diuine honoures, for none
 other consideration, but bicause they be
 riche and yet knowing them to bee fuche nigeshe
 penny fathers, that they be sure as longe as they lue,
 not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold
 shal come to them.

These and such like opinions haue they conceaued,
 partly by education, beinge brought vp in that
 common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre
 different from these kindes of folly, and partly by
 good litterature and learning. For though there be
 not many in euery citie, which be exempte and di-
 charged of all other laboures, and appointed only to
 learning, that is to faye: fuche in whome euen from
 theire very childhode they haue perceaued a singular
 towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good
 learning yet all in their childhode be instructe in learn-
 inge And the better parte of the people, bothe men
 and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo be-
 stowe in learninge those spare houres, which we sayde
 The studies
 und literature
 amonge the
 Utopianes
 they haue vacante from bodelye laboures.
 They be taughte learninge in theire owne
 natyue tong For it is bothe copious in
 woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare: and for the
 vtterauunce of a mans minde very perfecte and sure.
 The mooste parte of all that syde of the worlde vseth
 the same langage, sauinge that amonge the Utopians
 it is fynest and pureste, and accordinge to the diuer-
 sitye of the countreys it is dyuerflye alterede. Of all
 these Philosophers, whose names be heare famous in
 this parte of the worlde to vs knownen, before oure cum-
 mynge thether not asfmuche as the fame of annye of

them was cumen amonthe them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrie they haue founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient Philosophers haue tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so oure newe Logiciens in subtyl inuentiones haue farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuyfed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and superpositions, verye wittelye inuented in the small Logicalles, whyche heare oure children in euery place do learne. Furtheremore they were neuer yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions: infomuche that none of them all coulde euer see man himelfe in commen, as they cal him, though he be (as you knowe) bygger than euer was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the course of the starres, and the mouynges of the heauenly spheres verye expert and cunnyng. They haue also wittelye excogitated and diuised instrumentes of diuers fassions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other starres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes and differtions of the planettes, and all that deceytfel diuination by the starres, they neuer asmuch as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tempeftes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they haue learned by long vfe and obferuation. But of the causes of al these thinges and of the ebbing, flowing, and faltenes of the sea, and finallye of the original begynnyng and nature of heauen and of the worlde, they holde partelye the fame opinions that oure olde Philosophers hold, and partly, as our Philosophers varye among themselfes, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do difagree from all them, and yet among themselfes in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Phi-

Musike
Logike
Arithmetike
Geometrie

In this place
semeth to be a
nipping taunte

Astronomic

Yet amonge
christians this
geere is highli
estemed thies
daies

Naturall phi-
losophie is a
knowledge
most vncertein.

Moral philosophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualtyes of the sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowments and giftes of the soule

The order of good things They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe

The Utopianes holdes opynion that felicitye consistethe in honest pleasure

the defense of this foo deynty and delicate an opinion, they fetche euen from theire graue, sharpe, bytter, and

The principles of philosophye grounded vpon religion

principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the inuestigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason

The theologie of the Utopianes

The immortallite of the soule, wherof these dayes certeine Christianes be in doute mete that they shoulde be beleued and graunted byprofes

of reason But yf these principles were condempned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeuoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onlye auoydynge this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderance to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that

pleasure, whiche would bunge after it displeasure, grefe, and sorrow. For they iudge it extreame madnes to folowe sharpe and painful vertue, and not only to bannishe ye pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer

As every pleasure ought not to be inhaunced so grefe is not to be pursued but for vertues sake

griefe, without anye hope of proffit thereof ensuinge. For what proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed ouer all his lyfe vnpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye, shall haue no rewarde after his death? But nowe syr they thinke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honeite, and that hereto, as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be here vnto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and reiusinge things is ruled by reaion. Furthermore that reaion doth chieflye and principallye kendle in men the loue and veneration of the deuine maiestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, and that we be in possibilite to attayne felicite. And that secondarely it bothe sturrethe and prouoketh vs to leade our lyfe oute of care in ioy and mirth, and also moueth vs to helpe and further all other in respecte of ye societe of nature to obteine and enioye ye fame. For there was neuer man so earnest and painful a follower of vertue and hatei of pleasure, yat wold so inioyne you laboures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to eafe, lighten, and relieue, to your powre, ye lack and misery of others, praysing the fame as a dede of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, and speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarlye belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the forowe and heuynes of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, that is to faye to pleasure. whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians

The worke and effecte of reaion in man

doth prouoke euery man to doo the same to himselfe?

But nowe a daies some ther bee that wyl-
linglye procure vnto themsel-
ues painefull
grieves, as
thoughe therin
rested some
hiegh pointe
of religion,
whereas rather
the religiousely
disposed per-
son, yf they hap-
pen to him either
by chaunce or
elles by natu-
rall necessite,
ought pacient
lye to receaue
and suffer them

For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasaunt lyfe is either euel: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noysome and hurtful, or els if thou not only mayste, but also of dewty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefly to the selfe? To whome thou art bound to shew as much fauoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other she commaundeth the not to be cruell and vngentle to the selfe. Therefore euen very nature (saye they) prescribeth to vs a ioyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to healpe another to lyue merily (which fulerly she doth not without a good cause: for no man is so farre aboue the lotte of mans state or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onlye, whiche equallye fauourethe all, that be comprehended vnder the communion of one shape forme and fassion) verely she commaundeth the to vse diligent circumfpection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only Bargaynes and couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge Lawes priuate men ought to be well and faythe-
fullye fulfilled, obserued, and kepte, but also commen lawes, whiche either a good prince hath iustly publyshed, or els the people neither oppressed with tyranny, neither deceaued by fraude and gyell, hath by theire common consent constituted and ratyfied, concerninge the particion of the coimmodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offend, it is wyfdom, that thou looke to thine own

wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natuе countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from the selfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne For it is recompenſed with the retourne of benefytes, and The mutual re-course of kind-nes the conscience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull loue and beneuolence of them to whom thou haſt done it, doth bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou haſt withholden from thy selfe could haue brought to thy bodye Finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be perſuaded) God recompenſeth the gifte of a ſhort and ſmal pleasure with great and euerlaſtinge ioye Therfore the matter diligently weyede and conſidered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themſelues be referred at the laſt to pleauire, as their ende and felicitie Pleauire they call euery motion and ſtate of the The definition of Pleasure bodie or mynde, wherin man hath naturally delectation Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cauſe For like as, not, only the ſenſes, but also right reaſon coueteth whatſoeuer is naturally pleauant, for yat it may be gotten without wrong or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleauire, nor cauſing painiul labour, euen ſo thoſe thinges that men by vaine ymaginacion do fayne againſt nature to be pleauant (as though it laye in their power to chaunge ye thinges, as they do False and coun-terfeate pleaſures ye names of thinges) al ſuche pleauires they beleue to be of ſo small helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderance Because that in whom they haue ones taken place, all his mynde they poſſeſſe with a false opinion of pleauire. So that there is no place left for true and

naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesauntnes: yea the moste parte of them muche grieve and sorrowe. And yet throughe the peruerse and malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and vnhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and souereigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe caufes of life. In this counterfeit kinde of pleasure they put them that

The error of I spake of before Whiche the better them that esteme gownes they haue on, the better men they themselves the more for appar- thinke them selfes. In the which thing elles sake they doo twyse erre. For they be no leffe deceaued in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themselves the better For if you consider the profitable vse of the garmente, whye should wulle of a fyner sponne thred, be thoug[h]t better, than the wul of a course sponne thred? Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistakyng, auance themselves, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they durste not haue loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reuerence, they take it displeauntly and disdainfullye.

Folish honore And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and vnprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrensie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleasure, they be of a maruelous madnesse, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, reloyse muche in their owne conceyte. Be-cause it was their fortune to come of suche auncetoures, whose stocke of longe tyme hathe bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) speciallye riche in landes And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themselues haue pyssed it agaynste the walles, yet

they thinke themselues not the leſſe noble therfore of one heare. In this number also they counte them that take pleafure and dēlite (as I ſaid) in gemmes and precious ſtones, and thynke them felues almoſte goddes, if they chaunce to

Pleasure in
precious ſto-
nes most foſh.

gette an excellente one, ſpeciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countre men, is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of ſtone keþeth not his prycē ſtyll in all countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare no nor ſo neither, vntyll they haue

The opinion and
fansie of peo-
ple doeth aug-
ment and di-
minishe the price
and estimation
of precious ſto-
nes

made the ſeller to ſweare, that he will waiaunte and aſſure it to be a true ſtone, and no counterfeiſt gemme. Such care they take leſt a counterfeiſt ſtone ſhould deceaue their eyes in ſteade of a ryghte ſtone. But why ſhouldest thou not take euen aſmuſche pleafure in beholdinge a counterfeiſt ſtone, whiche thine eye can- not diſcerne from a righte ſtone? They ſhoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, euen as to the blynde man. What ſhall I ſaye of them, that kepe ſuperfluuous riſhes,

Beholders of
treasure, not
occupyng the
ſame

to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the vſe or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleafure, or elles be thei deceaued with falſe pleafure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they ſhall neuer Hyders of trea- ſure. occupye, nor peraduenture neuer ſe more? And whiles they take care leaſte they ſhall leefe it, do leefe it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe from their owne vſe, and perchaunce frome all other mennes alſo? And yet thou, when thou haſte hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppeſt for ioye. The whiche treaſure, yf it ſhoulde chaunce to bee ſtolen, and thou ignoraunt of the thefte ſhouldest dye tenne years after. all that tenne yeaſes ſpace that thou lyuedeft after thy money was ſtoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken away or elles ſafe as thou leſteſte

A prettie fiction
and a witie

it? Trewlye both wayes like profytte came to thee. To these so foolysh pleasures they ioyne dicers, whose
 Dice playe madnesse they knowe by hearsay, and not
 by vse. Hunteis also, and hawkers. For
 what pleasure is there (say they) in castinge the dice
 vpon a table. Which thou haft done so often, that if
 there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft vse might make
 Huntinge and thee were therelof? Or what delite can
 hawkinge there be, and not rather dyspleasure in
 hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or
 what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge
 followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge?
 for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to faye, run-
 nynge, yf thou haste pleasure therin. But yf the hope
 of slaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in peces
 the beaste doth please thee thou shouldest rather be
 moued with pitie to see a felye innocente hare murdered
 of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of
 the feare, the innocente of the cruell and vnmercyfull.

Hunting the Therefore all thys exercyse of huntyng, as
 basest parte of a thynge vnworthye to be vfed of free men,
 bouchers among the Utopians haue reected to their boucher
 and yet this is chers to the whiche crafte (as we sayde be-
 nowe the exer- fore) they appointe their bondemen. For
 cise of most no- ble men they counte huntyng the lowest, the vyle-
 este, and mooste abiecte part of boucherie, and the
 other partes of it more profitable, and more honeste, as
 bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll
 beastes onely for necessitie. Where as the hunter seketh
 nothinge but pleasure of the feelye and wofull beastes
 slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in behold-
 inge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes,
 either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaun-
 ged in continuaunce of time into crueltie, by longe vse
 of so cruell a pleasure. These therfore and all suche
 like, whiche be innumerable, though the common forte
 of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing
 there is no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly
 determine them to haue no affinitie with trew and right

pleasure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye moue the sene with delectation (whiche femeth to be a woorke of pleasure) this doeth nothyng diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerse and lewde custome is the cause hereof. Whiche caufeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche and tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes iudgemente depraued and corrupte, either by fyckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges. They make diuers kindes of pleasures. For some The kindes of they attribute to the soule, and some to trewe pleasures the body. To the soule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is ioyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe past. The The pleasures of the bodye pleasure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those thynges be expulſed, and voyded, wherof is in the body ouer great abundaunce. This pleasure is felt, when we do our natural easement, or when we be doyng the acte of generation, or when the ytchinge of any part is eased with rubbyng or scratchyng. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibitinge to any membre nothyng that it desireth, nor takyng from it any paine that it feeleth, which nevertheleſſe tikelth and moueth oure sences wyth a certeine secrete efficacie, but with a manifest motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of musicke. The seconde parte of bodely pleasure they say, is that which confisteth and resteth in the quiete, and vpryghte state Bodily health of the bodye. And that trewlye is euerye mannes owne propre health entermingled and dis-

turbed with no griefe. For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no greif, is delectable of it selfe, though it be moued with no externall or outwarde pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manyfeste to the sensē, as the gredye luste of eatynge and drynkyng, yet neuerthelesse manye take it for the chiefeste pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right souereigne pleasure, and as you wolde saye the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche euen alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place lefte for any pleasure. For to be without greife not hauinge health, that they call vnsensibilitie, and not pleasure. The Utopians haue long a go reiectēd and condempned the opinion of them, whiche sayde that stedfaste and quiete healthe (for this question also hathe bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleasure, bycause they saye it can not be presentlye and sensiblye perceaued and felte by some outwarde motion. But of the contiarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a moost soueraigne pleasure. For seynge that in sycknesse (saye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleasure, euen as sicknes is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you saye that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe waye it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleasure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (say they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode agaistre hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the vpper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strength ministreth that pleasure, whereby we be so refreshed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is ioyefull, shall it not be mery, when it

hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hathe recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coueted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew For what man wakyng, say they, felethe not himselfe in health. but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with stonishe insensibilitie, or with lethraigie, that is to say, the sleping sicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable?

Delectation
But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure? They imbrace chieflie the pleasures of the ^{The pleasures} mind ^{of the mynde} For them they counte the chieffest and most principall of all The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geue ye preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatsoeuer hath any like pleasauntnes, they determiny to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healthes sake For fuche thinges of their own proper nature be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resistre sickennesse priuelie stealing on. Therfore like as it is a wise mans part, rather to auoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight carefull grieves, then to call for comfort: so it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie grieve The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt, that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurste, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and vn honest, but also howe miserable, and wretched it is, who perceueth not? These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as vnpure and vnperfect For they neuer come, but accompanied with their contrarie

griefes. As with the pleasure of eating is ioyned hunger, and yat after no very egal sort. For of these. ii. ye grieve is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not vntil the pleasure die with it Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlye to be set by, but in yat thei be necessari. Howbeit they haue delite also in these, and thankfulli knowledge ye tender loue of mother nature, which with most pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie vse wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and druien. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie grefes of hunger and thurst coulde not be druien awaye, but with bitter potions, and fower medicines, as the other The giftes of diseases be, wherewith we be feldomer nature troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make muche of. But those pleasures that be receaued by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liunge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moued with any respecte of sauours, but onely for the diuersitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordaunte and discordant distaunces of soundes, and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasaunte reioyfinges of life But in all thinges this cautel they vse, that a leffe pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be vnhoneste. But yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodelie strength, to turne nimblenes into floughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do iniurie to healthe, and to reiecte the pleasaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealthie of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater

pleasure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine shaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punishe himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable couragiofslie to suffer aduersitie: which perchaunce shall neuer come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded towards himselfe, and vnkind towards nature, as one so disdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites.

This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleue that by mans reasoun none can be found treuer then this, onles any Marke thus godlyer be inspired into man from heuen. well

Whenn whether they beleue well or no neither the time doth suffer vs to discusse neither it is nowe necessarie. For we haue taken vpon vs to shewe and declare their lores and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thyng I beleue verely: howe soeuer these decares be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neyther a more flourisynge commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of actiuitie and nimble-
 nes, and of more strength then a man
 woulde iudge them by their stature, which
 for all that is not to lowe. And though theyr soyle be
 not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholsome, yet
 againste the ayer they so defende them with temperate
 diete, and so order and husbande their grounde with
 diligente trauaile, that in no countrey is greater in-
 creafe, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens
 bodies of longer lyfe, and subiect or apte to fewer dis-
 eases. There therfore a man maye see well, and dil-
 igentlie exploited and furnished, not onelye those thinges
 whiche husbandemen do commenly in other countreis,
 as by craft and cunninge to remedie the barrennes
 of the grounde: but also a whole wood by the handes of
 the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and fet
 againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard
 and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious

The wealth
and description
of the Utopians

carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or, ye cities For it is lesse laboure and businesse to carri grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, deltinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and suffer much bodelie laboure. Els they be not greatly desirous and fond of it but in the exercise and studie of the mind they be neuer wery When

The vtiltie of
the greke tonge

they had herd me speake of ye greke literaturē or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, besides historiens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earnestē and importunate fute vnto me that I would teach and instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vnto them, at the first truelie more bicause I would not feme to refuse the laboure, then that I hoopt that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued in-

A wonderfull
aptnes to learn-
ninge in the
Utopians

continentē by their diligence, that my laboure should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to prouounce the woordes,

so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so fuerlie to rehearfe the fame, that I maruailed at it, sauinge that the most parte of them were fine, and chosen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, vndertoke to learne this langage Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie staye, if the booke were not false This kynde of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner, bycause, it is sumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicause their speche,

But now most
blockhed as-
ses be sette to
learninge, and
mostpregnaunt
wittes corrupt
with pleasures

which in al other poyntes is not much vnlyke the Persian tonge, kepeth dyuers signes and tokens of the

greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magistrates. They haue of me (for when I was determined to entre into my. iii. voyage, I caste into the shuppe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of booke, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly) they haue, I faye, of me the moste parte of Platoes workes, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I am forye for) vnperfecte. For whiles we were a shipborde, a marmoset chaunced vpon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewith plucked oute certeyne leaues, and toore them in pieces Of them that haue wrytten the grammer, they haue onelye Lascans For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor neuer a dictionayre, but Hesichius, and Dioscorides They sett greate stoore by Plutarches booke. And they be delytyd wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and iestes Of the Poetes they haue Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small prynnte Of the Historians they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bokes, certain smal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne The whyche boke they haue in greate estimation. For though there be almost no nation vnder heauen that hath lesse nede of Phisicke then they, yet this notwithstandingyng, Phisicke
highly regar-
ded Phisicke is no where in greater honour.

Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste, and most profytale partes of Philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this Philosophie searche oute the secrete mysteryes of nature, they thinke themselfes to receaue therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obteine great thankes and fauour of the autour and makei therof. Whome they thinke according to ye fassion of other artificers, The contem-
placion of na-
ture to haue set furth the maruelous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentiuely to beholde Whom only he hath

made of witte, and capacite to confidre and vnder-
stantd the excellencie of so great a woork. And there-
fore he beareth (say they) more goodwil and loue to
the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his
woork and maruelour at the same, then he doth to
him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and
reason, or as one without sence or mouing, hathe no
regarde to soo greate and soo wonderfull a spectacle
The wittes therefore of the Utopians inured and exer-
cised in learnynge, be maruelous quycke in the inuen-
tion of feates helpinge annye thinge to the aduantage
and wealthe of lyffe Howbeit ii. feates theye maye
thanke vs for That is, the scyence of imprinting, and
the crafte of makinge paper And yet not onelye vs
but chieffelye and principallye themselfes.

For when we shewede to them Aldus his print in
bookes of paper, and told them of the stiffe wherof
paper is made, and of the feate of grauing letters,
speaking sumwhat moe, then we colde plainlye declare
(for there was none of vs, that knewe perfectlye either
the one or the other) they furthwith very wittelye con-
iectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote
onely in skinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe
they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint
letters. And though at the first yt proued not all of
the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortelye
got the feate of bothe And haue so broughte the
matter aboute, that yf they had copyes of Greeke
authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe
they haue no moore, then I rehearsed before, sauinge
that by pryntyng of bookes they haue multipliyed and
increased the same into manye thousandes of copies.
Whosoeuer cummethe thether to see the lande, beinge
excellent in anye gifte o wytte, or through[^he] muche
and longe iournienge wel experiened and sene in the
knowledg[e] of manye countreies (for the whyche cause
wee were very welcome to them) him they receyue and
interteyne wonders gentilly, and louinglye For they
haue delite to heare what is done in euerye lande,

howbeit verye fewe merchaunte men come thether. For what shoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron, or els gold and siluer, whiche they hadde rather carrie home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be carryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysedome to carry that gerefurthe themselfes, then that other shoulde come thether to fetche it,
 to th[e] entente they maye the bet-
 ter knowe the out landes on
 euerye syde of them, and
 kepe in vre the feate
 and knowledge
 of failinge

Of Bondemen, sicke per- sons, wedlocke, and di- vers other matters.



Hey neither make bondemen of prisoners taken in battayle, onyles it be in battayle that they foughte them selfes, nor of bondmens

A maruelous
equitie of
this nation

children, nor to be short, of anye fuche as they canne gette oute of forreine countries, though he were theire a bondman. But either fuche, as amonge themselves for heinous offences be punyshed with bondage, or elles fuche, as in the Cities of other landes for great trespasses be condempned to deathe. And of this sort of bondemen they haue mooste stoore.

For manye of them they bringe home sumtimes payinge very lytle for them, yea mooste commonlye gettynge them for gramecye. These sortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour, but also in bandes. But their ounen men they handle hardest, whom they Iudge more desperate, and to haue deserued greater punisshemente, bycause they being so godlye broughte vp to vertue in soo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refeined from

misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other countrey doth chuese of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as theire owne free cytyzeins, iauynge that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye fuche, be disposed to departe thens (whiche selome is seene) they neither holde him againste his
 Of them that wyll, neither fende him away with emptye
 be sicke handes. The fycke (as I sayde) they fee to
 with great affection, and lette nothing at al passe con-
 cerninge either Phifycke or good diete, whereby they may
 be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of
 incurable diseases they comforte with fittinge by them,
 with talkinge with them, and to be shorte with all
 maner of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be
 not onelye vncurable, but also full of contynuall payne
 and anguishe: then the prieses and the magistrates
 exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye
 dewtye of lyffe, and by ouerlyuinge his owne deathe is
 noysome and irkesome to other, and greuous to him-
 selfe: that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to
 cheryshe that pestilent and peineful disease. And seinge
 his lyfe is to him but a torment, that he wyl not bee
 vnwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him,
 Voluntarye and either dispatche himselfe out of that
 deathe payneful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke
 of torment, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be
 rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they
 tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he
 shall lose no commoditye, but ende his payne. And
 bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the
 prieses, that is to faye, of the interpreters of goddes
 wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke
 a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus per-
 suaded, finyshe theire liues willynglye, either with
 hunger, or elles dye in theire sleape without anye feal-
 ing of deathe. But they cause none fuche to dye

agaynste his wyll, nor they vse no leffe dilygence and attendaunce aboue him: beleuunge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himself before that the prystes and the counfel haue allowed the cause of his deathe, him as vnworthy either to be buried, or with fier to be consumed, they caste vnburied into some stinkinge marnish. The woman is not maried before she be xviii yeres olde. The man iiiij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before theire marrage, with an other, the partie that so hathe trespassed is sharpeleye punished. And bothe the offenders be forbidden euer after in al theire lyfe to marrye. oneles the faulte be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the house, where that offense was committed as beinge slacke and neglygent in lokinge to theire chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamye. That offense is so sharpeleye punyshed, bicause they perceave, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the lyfe must be led with one, and also all the grieves and displeasures comming therewith paciently be taken and borne. Furthermore in chuesinge wyses and husbandes they obserue earnestly and straytelye a custome, whiche seemed to vs very fonde and folyfhe. For a sad and an honest matrone sheweth the woman, be she mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, and disallowed it as foolish. But they on the other parte doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byng a colte, whereas a lytle money is in hasarde, be so charye and circumfpecte, that thoughe he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the faddel and all the karneies be taken of, leaste vnder those couerynges be hydde, som galle or foore. And yet in chuesinge a wyfe,

Thoughe not
verie honestly,
yet not vn-
wyselye

whyche shalbe either pleasure, or displeasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles, that al the resydewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with cloothes, they esteme her scafelye be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face) and so to ioyne her to them not without greate ioperdye of euel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward should chaunce of offend and myflyke them.

For all men be not so wyse, as to haue respecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be esteemed and regarded. yea euen in the mariages of wyse men. Verely so foule deformitie maye be hydde vnder those couringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for theire bodies to be separate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consummate and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Euery man muste take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe were made wherebye all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and aduoyded before hande.

And this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke vpon, because they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euerye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrymoneie is there neuer broken, but by death. excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of Diuorcement either partye. For if either of them finde themselves for any such cause greued: they maye by the license of the counfel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infamy, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some myshappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre. For they iudge it a great poynyt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede of helpe and conforte, shoulde be caste of and forsaken,

and that olde age, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, should vnkindly and vnfaythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunsfeth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betw[e]ne themselves, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyue more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be diuorsed a sonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell Whiche agreeeth to no diuorses, before they and their wyfes haue diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be lothe to consent to it, bycause they know this to be the next way to break loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in easye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste greuous bondage And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe haue sufferedde wrong, beinge diuorsed from the auoutrers, be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust But if either of them both do styl continewe in loue towarde so vnkinde a bedfellowe, the vse of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partie faulteres be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the person, which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earneste diligence of the other, dothe so moue the prince with pytie and compassion, that he restoreth the bonde persone from seruitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie be taken eftstones in that faulte, there is no other waye but death. To other trespasses no prescript punishmente is appoyned by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynoufenes of the offence, or contrarye, so the punishmente is moderated by the discretion of the counsell The husbandes chaufce their wyfes: and the parentes theirie children, oneles they haue done anye so horrable an offense, that the open punyshemente thereof maketh muche for the aduauncemente

The decerning
of punishment
putte to the
discretion of
the magistrates

of honeste maners. But mooste commenlye the mooste heynous faultes be punyshed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse grieve, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they should hastyly put them to death, and so make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus vsed, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they be flayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prisoun nor chaine coulde restraine and kepe vnder. But they, whiche take theire bondage pacientlye, be not leste all hopeles. For after they haue bene broken and tamed with long miseries, if then thei shewe such repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaued that they be foryer for theire offense then for their punyshemente: sumtymes by the Princes prerogatyue, and sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgeuen. He that moueth to

Motion to ad-
uoutrye pa-
nished aduoutreye is in no lesse daunger and ieon-
perdie, then yf he hadde committed ad-

uoutrye in dede. For in all offenses they counte the intente and pretensed purpose as euel, as the acte or dede it selfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuse him, that did his beste to haue no lette. They haue singular delite and pleasure in fooles. And as it is a

pleasure of
fooles greate reproche to do annye of them hurte
or iniury, so they prohibite not to take
pleasure of foolyshnes. For that, they

thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be so fadde, and sterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition. for feare least he would not intiate them gentilly and fauorably enough: to whom they should brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) nuche lesse anye proffite shoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his de-

formitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is knocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwyfely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken verye little witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comelinesse, so to helpe the same with payntinges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not with-
 ute greate infamie. For they knowe euen by verye experience, that no comelinesse of bewtie doethe so hyghelye commende and auaunce the wiues in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditons and lowlines. For as loue is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preserued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doyng eul by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set vp in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as haue bene great and bounteful benefactors to the commen wealth, for ye perpetual memorie of their good actes. and also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrre and prouoke their posterite to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for euer attaining any promotion as long as he liueth. They lyue together louinglye. For no magistrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they vse themselues. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite vnto them dew honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knownen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diadem roial, or cap of maintenunce, but by a little sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before ye bishop, wherby onely he is knownen. They haue but few

Counterfeite
bewtie.

Sinne puni-
shed and ver-
tue rewarded

The inordinate
desire of ho-
nours condem-
ned

Magistrates
honoured.

Fewe lawes lawes. For to people so instructe and institute very fewe do suffice. Yea this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable bookes of lawes and expositions vpon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and iustice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man

The multitude of lawyers can well vnderstande them Furthermore they vtterlie exclude and banishe all atsuperfluous.

torneis, proctours, and sergeauntes at the lawe. whiche craftye handell matters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes For they thinke it mooste meete, that euery man should pleade his own matter, and tel the same tale before the iudge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be lesse circumstaunce of wordes, and the trueth shall soner come to light, whiles the iudge with a discrete iudgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyei hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes against the false and malicious circumuentiones of craftie children. This is harde to be obserued in other countreis, in so infinitie a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia euery man is a cunning lawier For (as I said) they haue very few lawes: and the plainer and groffer that anye interpretation is:

The intent of lawes that they allowe as most iuste. For all lawes (saie they) be made and publyshed onely to the intente, that by them euery man shoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye and subtil interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remembraunce, where as the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaninge of the lawes is open to euery man.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare sort of the people, whiche be bothe mooste in number, and haue mooste nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation vpon it, that

without greate witte and longe arguyng no man can discusse it? To the fyndyng oute whereof neyther the grosse iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their huynge, canne suffice thereto. These vertues of the Utopians haue caused their nexte neiboures and borderers, whiche liue fre and vnder no subiection (for the Utopians longe ago, haue deliuered manye of them from tirannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for fife yeaeres space Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praise, and take new againe with them into their countrey. These nations haue vndoubtedly very well and holsomely prouided for their common wealthes. For seynge that bothe the makinge and marringe of the weale publique, doeth depende and hange vpon the maners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more wyselye haue chosen, then those which can not be ledde from honestye by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal depart thens into their own countrey money shold be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued eyther with fauoure, or malice towardes any man, as beyng straungers, and vna[c]quainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection and auarice, where they take place in iudgementes, incontinentē they breake iustice, the strongest and suerest bonde of a common wealth These peoples whiche fetche their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes And other to whome they haue bene beneficiall, they call their frendes As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey ^{Of leagues} be so ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuē make none with anie nation. For to what purpose serue leagues, say they? As thoughe nature had not fet sufficient loue betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefelye, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues be-

twene princes be wont to be kepte and obserued very sklenderly. For here in Europa, and especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the maestie of leagues is euerye where esteemed holy and inuiolable: partie through the iustice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reuerence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselues, but they do verye religiouselye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, and them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre, and authoritie they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might semme a verye reprochfull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith should haue no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scafelie so farre frome vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be diffident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte vp with, the soner it is broken by some cauillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be so craftelie put in, and placed, that the bandes can neuer be so fule nor so stronge, but they will find some hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fiaude and deceite, if they should know it to be practised among priuate men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth, and a fower countenaunce, as an offense mooste detestable, and worthye to be punnyshed with a shamefull deathe: yea euен very they that auaunce themselues authours of lyke counsell geuen to princes. Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al iustice is but a basse and a low vertue, and which aualeth it self farre vnder the highe dignitie of kynge. Or at the least wise, that there be two iustices, the one meete for the inferiour forte of the people, goynge a fote and creyngelowe by the grounde, and bounde down on euery side

with many bandes, bycause it shall not run a trouers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of muche hygher maiestie, then the other pore justice, so also it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. These maners of princes (as I said) whiche be there so euell kepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they liued here. Howbeit they thinke that though leagues be neuer so faithfullye obserued and kepte, yet the custome of makyng leagues was very euell begon. For this caufeth men (as though nations which be seperat a fondre, by ye space of a litle hil or a riuier, were coupled together by no societie or bonde of nature) to thinke themselues borne aduersaries and enemies one to an other, and that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not yea, and that after ye leagues be accorded, frendship doth not grow and encrese. But the licence of robbing and stealing doth stylly remaine, as farfurth as for lack of foresight and aduisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therin sufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no iniurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league and that men be better and more surely knit togetheres by loue and beneuolence, then by couenauntes of leagues : by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare.



Arre or battel as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche vse as to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almooste of all other nations, they counte nothyng

so muche against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore though they do daylie practise and exercise themselues in the discipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but also the women vpon certen appointed daies, lest they should be to feke in the feate of armes, if nede should require, yet they neuer go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to drue out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yocke and bondage of tirannyne some people, that be therewith oppresed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compassion. Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes, not euer in their defence. But sometymes also to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell and aduise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restoore agayne suche thynges as be of them iustelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and inuasions of soldiours praines and booties be driuen awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchautes in anie lande, either vnder the pretence of vniuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge and wronge vnderstandinge of good lawes, do sussteine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other caufe, but that the Nepheloge marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre reuenged, the countreis rounde about ioyninge their helpe and powre to the purfaunce and malice of bothe parties, that mooste flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischeues wer not finished nor ended, vn-

til the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yelded vp as bondemen into the iurisdiction of the Nephelogetes For the Utopians fought not this war for themselues. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians profequete the iniuries done to their frendes yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise For if they by coueyne or gile be wiped beside their goodes, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by abstaininge from occupieng with that nation, vntil they haue made satisfaction Not forbicause they set lesse stoor by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes : but that they take the losse of their frendes money more heuele then ye losse of their own. Bicause that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their own priuate goods, susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth Therfore no man feleth the losse. And for this caute they thinke it to cruell an acte, to reuenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his liuing. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a priuate counsel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the iniurie, they will not be appeased but incontinent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only sory, but also ashamed to atchieue the victorie with bloudshed, counting it greate folie to bie Victorie deare
bought precious wares to dere. They reioyse and auant themselues, if they vanquise and oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they

make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they set vp a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie For then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they haue plaid the men in deede, when they haue so ouercommen, as no other liuing creature but onely man could. that is to saye, by the by the myghte and puissance of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight And as the mooste part of them do passe vs in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to obteine that thynge, whiche if they had before obteined, they woulde not haue moued battell But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeance of them whiche be in the faulte, that euer after they be aferde to do the like This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and first of al prosecute, and setforwarde But yet so, that they be more circumspete, in auoidinge and eschewynge iopardies, then they be desierous of piayse and renowne Therefor immediatlye after that warre is ones solemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne commen seale to be set vp priuile at one time in their enemies lande, in places mooste frequented. In these proclamations they promise greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and some what lesse giftes, but them verye greate also, for euerye heade of them, whose names be in the saide proclamations conteyned They be thoſe whom they count their chiefeaduersaries, next vnto the prince Whatſoever is preſcribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed perſons, that is dubled to him that bringeth anye of the ſame to them aliue: yea, and to the proclaimed perſones themſelues, if they wil chaunge their mindes, and come into them, taking their partes, they profer the ſame greate rewardes with pardon, and fueſtie of their liues. Therefor it quickely commeth to paſſe that their ene-

mies haue all other men in suspiccion, and be vnfaithfull, and mistrusting among themselues one to another, liung in great feare, and in no lesse ieopardie. For it is well knownen, that diuers times the most part of them (and speciallie the prince him selfe) hathe bene betraied of them, in whom they put their moste hope and trust So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure But remembryng and considering into how great hasarde and ieopardie they cal them, endeuoure themselues to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites And therefore they promise not only wonderful greate abundance of golde, but also landes of greate reuenues lieng in most saffe places among theire frendes And theire promisses they perfourme faythfully withoute annye fraude or couyne This custome of byinge and fellynge aduersaries among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde But they in this behalfe thinke themselfes muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmyshe Yea they counte it also a dede of ptye and mercye, bicause that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate numbie of innocentes, awel of theire oun men as also of theire enemies be raunfomed and sauued, which in fighting shoulde haue bene fleane For they doo no lesse ptye the basse and common sorte of theire enemies people, then they doo theire owne knowing yat they be driuen and enforced to warre againte their willes by the furyous madnes of theire princes and heades. Yf by none of these meanes the matter goo forwarde, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occaysons of debate, and dissencion to be spredde amonge theire enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hooke to obtayne the kingedome Yf this waye preuayle not, then they reyse vp the people that be nexte neyghboures and boideiers to theire enemyes, and them they

sette in theire neckes vnder the coloure of some olde tylte of ryghte, such as kynges doo, neuer lacke. To them they promyffe theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for moneye they gyue them abund aunce. But of theire owne cytyzeins they fende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and loue so intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their aduersaries prince. But their gold and siluer, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyue even as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it euerye penny. Yea and besydes theire ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei haue also an infinite treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hiere soldiours oute of all countreis and fende them to battayle, but cheifly of the zapoletes. This people is. 500 myles from Utopia eastewarde. They be hideous, sauage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and sustaine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their houses and in their apparrel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringynge vp of cattel. The moste parte of theire lyuynge is by huntyng and stealyng. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earnestelye seke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes together, and who foever lackethe souldyours, there they proffer theire seruice for smal wages. This is onelye the crafte they haue to gette theire lyuynge by. They maynteyne theire lyfe, by fekinge theire deathe. For them whomewyth they be in wayges they fyghte hardelye, fyerslye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themselfes for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this condition they

entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other syde for greater wayges, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherein is not a greate numbre of them in bothe partyes. Therefore it dayelye chauncethe that nye kynsefolke whyche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye vsed themselves one wyth another, shortely after beinge separate in contrarye partes, runne one againte another enyouslye and fyercelye. and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeshyppe, thruste theire fwordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hyghlye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfe-penye more wayges by the daye. So quycckelye they haue taken a smacke in couetesenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fyghtynge, immedyatelye they spende vnthryfelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynst all nations, bycause they geue them greater wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they feke good men to vse wel, so they feke these euell and vicious men to abuse Whome, when neade requirethe, with promis ses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great ieopardyees. From whens the mooste parte of them neuer cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine aliueth they paye yat which they promised faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselves in lyke daunger another time. Nor ye Utopianes passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleue yat they shold doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of ye worlde all that fowle stinking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next vnto thies they vse ye soldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And lafte of all, they ioyne to

theire oune citizens Emong whome they giue to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, gouernaunce, and conduction of the whole armye. Vnder him they appoynte ij other, whyche, whyles he is sauffe, be bothe priuate and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of the other. ij. succedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the seconde miscarrye, then the thide taketh his rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of battell is vncerteine and doubtful) the iepardye or deathe of the capitaine shoulde bryng the whole armye in hasarde. They chuese foldyours out of euery citye those, whych putte furthe themselffes wyllyngelye For they thruste no man forthe into warre agaynste his wyll Bycause they beleue, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym selfe, but also be occayson of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynste theire owne countreye, then they putt these cowardes (so that they be stonge bodyed) in shypes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyspose them vpon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for shame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for bycause they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere And manye times extreame necessitiye turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of them is thrust forthe of his countrey into warre againste his wyll, so women that be wyllyng to accompany theire husbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke and exhorte them to it with prayses And in set fylde the wyues doo stande euerye one by theire owne husbandes syde. Also euery man is compassed next aboute with his owne children, kinffolkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefely moueth to mutual succoure, thus standynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche, and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe withoute her husbante, or the sonne without his father.

And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter and blodshed, euen to the vtter destrucion of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselfes from the necessitie of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered soldyours: so when there is no remedy, but that they muste neades fight themselfes, they they do as corragiousflye fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiselye auoyde and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront. But in continuaunce by litle and lytle theire fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyue back an ynche. For that fuertye of lyuinge, whiche euerye man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire posterite shall lyue after them (for his pensifnes oftentymes breakethe and abateth couragious stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreouer theire knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euen from theire childhode, partly through learnynge, and partlye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of theire weale publique augmente and encrease theire manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so litle store by their liues, that they will rasshelye and vnaduisedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond loue therewith, that they will shamefullye couete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leaue them. When the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce and feruent, a bende of chosen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to liue and dye togetheres, take vpon them to destroye theire aduerfaries capitaine. Whome they inuade now with priuy wieles, now by open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is affayled with a long and a con-

The capitane
is chieffye to
be pursued to
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tinuall assaulte freshe men stylly commynge in the werned
mens places. And feldome it chaunceth (onles he
he faue hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne,
or els taken prisoner, and yelded to his enemies alue.
If they wynne the fyelde, they persecute not theire
enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they
had rather take them alue, then kyl them. Neither
they do so follow the chafe and pursute of theire
enemies, but they leaue behinde them one parte of
theire hoste in battaile arraye vnder their standardes.
In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted
and ouercum fauing the rerewarde, and that they there-
with atchieue the victory, then they had rather lette al
their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array.
For they remembre, it hath chaunced vnto themselfes
more then ones: the whole powre and strength of
their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles
their enemies rejoysing in the victory haue persecuted
them flying some one way and some another, a small
companye of theire men lying in an ambushe, there
redy at all occasions, haue sodainelye ryfen vpon them
thus dispersed and scattered oute of arraye, and through
presumption of safety vnaudislye pursyng the chafe:
and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole
battayll: and spite of their tethes wrestinge oute of
their handes the sure and vndouted victorye, being a
litle before conquered, haue for their parte conquered
the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be
craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in auoydinge
the fame. You would thinke they intende to fye,
when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse
when they go about that purpose, you wold beleue
it were the leaste paite of their thought. For if they
perceave themselfes either ouermatched in numbre, or
closed in too narrowe a place, then they remoue their
campe either in the night season with silencie, or by
some policie they deceave theire enemies, or in the
day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no
lesse ioperdie to medle with them when they geue
backe, then when they preese on. They fence and

fortifie their campe fewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudges and slaves a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selfes. All the whole armye worketh vpon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for sodeine auentures. Therefore by the labour of so manye a large trenche closinge in a greate compasse of grounde is made in leise tyme then anye man woulde beleue. Theire armoure or harneys, whiche they Their armour weare, is sure and strong to receaue strokes, and handsome for all mouinges and gestures of the bodye, infomuche that it is not vnweldye to swymme in. For in the discipline of their warefare amonge other feates thei learne to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe whiche they shote both stronglye and surelye, not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen. At hande strokes they vse not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, awel in sharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe strokes. Engines for warre they deuyse and inuent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knownen before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at and serue to no purpose. Bnt in makyng them hereunto they haue chiefe respecte, that they be both easie to be caried, and handsome to be moued, and turned about. Of truces Truce taken with their enemies for a shorte time they do so firmelye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waste nor destroye theire enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp their corne. Yea, they saue it as muche as may be from being ouerrunne and troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for theire owne vse and proffit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelded vnto them, they defende. And suche as they wynne by force of assualte, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the

yeldyng vp of the same, they put to deathe, the other
 souldiours they punnyfhe with bondage All the
 weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they knowe
 that annye citezeins counfelled to yealde and rendre
 vp the citie, to them they gyue parte of the condemned
 mens goods The refydewe they distribute and glue
 frelye amonge them, whose helpe they had in fame
 warre For none of them selfes taketh any portion of
 the praye But when the battaile is finished and ended,
 they put theire frendes to neuer a penny coste of al the
 charges that they were at, but laye it vpon theire
 neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the
 whole charge of theire expensis, whiche they demaunde
 of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like vse of
 battayl, and partelye in landes of greate reuenues to be
 payde vnto them yearelye for euer Such reuenues
 they haue now in manye countreis Whiche by litle and
 litle ryfinge of dyuers and sondry causes be increased
 aboue vij. [seven] hundrethe thousand ducates by the
 yere Thether they fende forth some of their citezeins
 as Lieuetenautes, to lue there sumptuoufly like men
 of honoure and renowne And yet this not withstand-
 inge muche moneye is sauad, which commeth to the
 commen treasury: onles it so chaunce, that they had
 rather trust ye countrey with the money Which
 many times they do so long, vntil they haue nede to
 occupie it And it feldome happeneth, that thei de-
 maund al Of these landes they assigne parte vnto
 them, which at their request and exhortacion put them-
 selves in such ioperdies, as I spake of before. If anye
 prince stirre vp warre agaynst them, intending to
 inuade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute
 of theire owne borders with greate powre and strengthe.
 For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne
 countrei Nor they be neuer broughte into so ex-
 treme necessitie as to take
 helpe out of forreyne
 landes into their
 owne Ilande.

¶ Of the religions in Utopia.



Here be diuers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in diuers places of euery citie. Some worship for God the sonne, some the mone, some, some other of the planettes.

There be that glue worship to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and hyghest God. But the moste and the wyseste parte (reiectynge al these) beleue, that there is a certayne Godlie powre vnownen, euerlastinge, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and retche of mans witte, dispersed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the begininges, the encreasinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geue any diuine honours to any other then to him. Yea al ye other also, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this pointe they agiee all togethers with the wifest forte, in beleuing that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde. whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and amone some an other. For euery one of them, whatsoeuer yat is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only diuine myghte and maiestie, the iumme and soueraintie of al thinges by the consent of al people is attributed and geuen. Howbeit they all begyn by litle and litle to forfake and fall from this varietie of superftusions, and to agre togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the residewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long ago haue bene abolished, but that whatsoeuer vnprosperous thynges happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from GOD out of heauen. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsaynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleue with howe gladde mindes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that they thought it nieghest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no fmaile helpe and furtheraunce in the maiter, that they harde vs say, that Christ instituted among his, al thinges commen: and that the same Religious hou- communitie doth yet remaine amonegst the ses rightest Christian companies. Verely how- soeuer it came to passe, manye of them consented together in our religion, and were wasshed in ye holy water of baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left a hue, two of our compayne beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right forie for: they beyng entered and instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke only those sacramentes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they vndestand and perceue them, and be very desierous of ye same. Yea, they reason and dispute ye matter earnestly among themselues, whether without ye sending of a christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people may receaue the ordre of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuse one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none. They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath receiued it. Sauing that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished. He as foone as he

was baptised, began against our willes, with more earneste affection, then wifedome, to reson of Christes religion: and began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onlye preferre our religion before al other, but also did vtterly despise and condempne all other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and deuelish, and the children of euerlastinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him, and condempned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, and a rafter vp of diffention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for resoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, euen at the firste begining, hearing yat the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall diffention and strife amonge themselues for their religions· perceyung also that this common diffention (whiles euery feuerall fecte tooke feuerall partes in fighting for their countrey) was the only occasion of his conquest ouer them al, assone as he had gotten the victory: Firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he migthe do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceable, gentele, quietly, and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking and inuehing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them vnto his opinion yet he should vse no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeaunte and seditious woordes To him Seditious re-
soners pun-
ished that would vehemently and feruentlye in this cause strie and contendre was decreed, banishment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortal hatred vtterly extinguished: but also because he thought this deacie should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing vnaid-

uisedlie, as douting whether god desiering manifolde and diuerse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry men with sondrie kindes of religion, ~And this furerly he thought a very vnmete and folish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the same, that thou beleuest to be trew. Furthermore thoughte there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handeled with reason, and sober modestie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe shoulde continuallye be vsed, as the woorste men bemooste obstinate and stubbourne, and in their euyll opinion moooste constante: he perceaued that then the beste and holiest religion woulde be troden vnderfote and destroyed by most vaine supersticions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouer-grownen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefste vndiscussed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie and choise to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no vyle opinion to be con- ceaued of mans worthy nature man should conceaue so vyle and baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do die and perishe with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therfore thei beleue that after this life vices be extreamelye punished and vertues bountifullly rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe aualed the heighe nature of hys soule to the vielnes of brute beastes bodies: muche lesse in the numbre of their ciiziens, whose lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteeme. For you maye be fuer that he will studie either with craft priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the

bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is depryued of all honours, excluded from all common administrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all fortis despised, as of an vnprofitable, and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleue what he list. No nor they constraine hym not with threatninges to dissemble his minde, and shew countenaunce contraire to his thought. For deceit and falshod and all maners of lies, as nexte vnto fraude, they do maruelouslie Deceit and fals-hod detested deteste and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onelye amoung the commen people. For els aparte amoung the priestes and men of grauitie they do not onelye suffer, but also exhorte him to dispute and argue: hoping that at the last, that madnes will geue place to reason. There be also other, and of them no small numbre, which be not forbidden to speake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion vpon some reason, beyng in their liuing neither euell nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleue that the soules of brute beastes be immortall and euerlasting. But nothyng to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predestinate to like felicitie. For al they beleue certeinly and fewerly that mans bleffe shal be so great, that they do mourne and lament euery mans sicknes, but no mans death-oneles it be one whome they see depart from his life carefullie, and agaynst his will. For this they take for a verye euel token, as though the soule beyng in dispaire, and vexed in conscience, through some priuie and secret forefeeling of the punishment now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawnen by force and fore against his will. They therfore that see this kinde of deathe, do abhorre it.

Irreligious people secluded from all honours.

A very straung sayunge

A maruelous straunge opinion touching the soules of brute beastes

To die vnwil-lyngly an euel token.

and them that so die, they burie with forow and silence. And when they haue praied God to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof,
 A willing and they couer the dead coorse with earth
 a merye deathe Con-
 not to be lament- trariewise all that departe merely and ful
 ted of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerfe with ioyfull synging, commanding the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning forrow, but with a great reuerence they bourne the bodies. And in the same place they sette vp a piller of stone, with the dead mans titles therin graued. When they be come home they reherfe his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his meri deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently prouoke and enforce the liung to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eiesight of mortall men they be inuisible. For it were an vnconuenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate vnkindnes in them to haue vtterly cast awaye the desire of visitinge and feing their fiendes, to whome they were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue and amitie. Whiche in good men after their deathe they counte to be rather increased then diminished. They beleue therefore that the deade be presentelye conuersaunt amonge the quicke, as beholders and witnesse of all their woordes and dedes. Therfore they go more corragiously to their busines as hauing a trut and affiaunce in such ouerfeers. And this same belefe of the present conuersation of their forefathers and auncient soothsayers among them, feareth them from all not regarded secrete dishonestie. They vtterly despise nor credited and mocke soothsayinges and diuinations of things to come by the fligthe or voices of birdes, and

all other diuinations of vaine superstitution, whiche in other countreis be in greate obseruation. But they lighlye esteme and worshyppe miracles that come ^{Miracles} by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and witenesses of the presente power of God. And fuche they faye do chaunce there verye often. And sometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by commen intercession and prayers, they procure and obteine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a steadfast belefe.

They think that the contemplation of nature, and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many so earnestlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing for lerning, noi geue their mindes to any ^{The life ac-} knowledge of thinges. But ydelnes they ^{true} vt- terly foriske and elchue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obtained by busie labors and good exercises. Some therfore of them attende vpon the sicke, some amende high waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfs, grauell, and stones, fel and cleave wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serue not onelye in commen woorkes, but also in priuate laboures as seruauntes, yea, more then bondmen. For what so euer vnpleasaunt, harde, and vile woike is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothfomnes, and desperation doth fray other, al that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiete and rest to other, remaininge in continual woorke and labour themselfues, not embraidinge otheis therewith. They neither reproue other mens liues, nor glorie in theire owne. These men the more seruiceable they behauue themselfues, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two fectes. The one is of them that liue single and chast, abstaining not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, and some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche vtterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholye set vpon the desier of the lyfe to come by watchynge, and fweatynge, hoop-

inge shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane seafon
merie and lustie. The other fecte is no leffe desirous of
laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisynge
the solace theirof, thinking that they can not be
discharged of their bounden duties towardes nature
without labour and toyle, nor towardes their na-
tive countrey without procreation of children. They
abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder
them from laboure. They loue the flesh of foure
footed beastes, because they beleue that by that
meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke.

It is not all
one to be wise
and good

The Utopians counte this fecte the wiser, but
the other the holier. Which in that they pre-
ferre singele life before matrimony, and that
sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded vpon
reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they
say they be led to it by religion, they honor and wor-
ship them. And therie be they whom in their language
by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrescas, the which
woord by interpretation signifieth to vs men of religion
or religious men. They haue priestes of

Priestes

exceding holines, and therefore very few.
For there be but xiiij. in euery citie accordinge to the
number of their churches, sauyng when they go furthe
to battell. For than. viij. of them goo furth with the
armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made at
home. But the other at their retourne home again
reentre euery one into his owne place, they that be
aboue the numbre, vntill suche time as they succede
into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the
meane seafon continuallie in companie with the bish-
oppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. They
be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be by
secrete voices for the auoydinge of strife. After their
election they be consecrate of their own companie.
They be ouerfeers of al diuine matters, orderers of re-
ligions, and as it wer iudges and maisters of maners.
And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked
or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontin-

ent liuing. But as it is their office to geue good exhortations and counsel, so is it ye dutie of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punishe offenders, sauing that the priestes, whome they find exceeding vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing anye interest in diuine Excommunicatiōn. matters. And there is almoste no punishment amonke them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For vnfesse they by quicke repentaunce approue the amendment of their liues to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is instructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to instructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they vse with verie great endeouour and diligence to put into the heade of their children, whiles they be yet tender and phaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conseruation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the state of the commen welth. Whiche neuer decaith but throughe vices risinge of euill opinions. The priestes, onles Women priestes they be women (for that kinde is not excludēd from priesthoode, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men priestes, I saye, take to their wifes the chiefest women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminince geuen. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no commen iudgement, but be left only to god and themselfes. For thei thinke it not lawful The maiestie and preeminince of priestes to touch him with mannes hande, be he neuer so vicious, which after so singular a fort was dedicate and consecrate to god, as a holly offering. This maner may they easelye obserue, bicause they haue so fewe priestes, and do chuse them with such circumspec-

tion. For it scasely euer chaunceth, that the moste vertuous amoung vertuous, which in respect only of his vertue is auaunced to so high a dignety, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it shoulde chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so fewe, and promoted to no might noi powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared yat anye great dammage by them shoulde happen and ensue to the commen wealthe. They haue so rare and fewe priestes, least if the honour were communicated to many, ye digniti of the ordre, which among them now is so highly estemed, shoulde rune in contempt. Speciallye because they thincke it hard to find many so good, as to be meet for that dignety, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furtheimore these priestes be not more esteemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein and straunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke also yat this is the cause of it. For whiles ye armes be fighting together in open feld they a litle beside not farre of knele vpon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding vp their handes to heauen: praing first of all for peace, nexte for vctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their host gette the vpper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, and restrayne their owne men from fleying and cruelly pursyng their vanquyshed enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but see them and speake to them, it is ynough for the sauergarde of their lyues. And the touching of their clothes defendeth and saueth al their gooddes from rauine and spoyle. This thinge hathe auaunced them to so greate wourship and trewe maiesty among al nations, that manye times they haue awel preferued their own citizens from ye cruel force of their enemis, as they haue their enemies from the furvous rage of their owne men. For it is well knownen, that when their owne army hathe reculed, and in dyspayre turned backe, and runne away, their enemis fyerflye pursyng

with slaughter and spoyle, then the prietes cumming betwene haue stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that pease hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indifferent condicions. For there was neuer any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in suche reuerence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therfore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye touched.

They kepe hollye the fyrste and the laste daye of euery moneth and yeare, diuydinge the The obserua-
tion of holy
daies amonc
the Utopians yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in theire language Lynemernes, and the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primifeste and finifest, or els in our speache, irst feaste and last feast. Their churches be Their chur-
ches verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious workmanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receaue a great company of people. But they be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not Churcheis of
dimme light
and a reason
why donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Because they thought that ouer much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed vpon religion and deuotion: which bicause it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the diuine nature, as goyng diuers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is sene nor heard in ye churches, but that semeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye feueral secte, that they execute at home in their owne houfes. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to anye of the priuate sacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is ieene in

the churche, to the intente it maye bee free for euery man to conceiue god by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the diuine maiesi whatfoeuer it be. No prayers bee vsed but suche as euerye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny secte. They come therefore to the churche, the lafte day of euerye moneth and yeare in the euenynge yet fastinge, there to gyue thankes to GOD for that they haue prosperouslye pased ouer the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the lafte daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornynge, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and succeſſe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that fame hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the lafte dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wiues fall downe proſtrat before theire husbandes

The confessi-
on of the Uto-
pians

feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and ac-
knowleſſinge themſelues offendis either by ſome actuall dede, or by omission of their deuty, and
desire pardon for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude
of priuy diſpleaſure was riſen at home, by this ſatiſfaction
it is ouerblowen, that they may be preſente at the
ſacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they
be aferd to come there with troubled conſciences.
Thereforoie if they knowe themſelues to beare anye
hatred or grudge towards anye man, they preſume
not to come to ye ſacrifices, before they haue recon-
ciled themſelues and purged theire conſciences, for
ſearc of greate vengeance and punyfhemēte for their
offende. When they come thether, the men goo into

An order for
places in the
Churche

the ryghte fyde of the churche, and the
women into the lefte fyde. There they place
themſelues in ſuche ordre, that all they
whyche be of the male kinde in every houſhould ſitte
before the goodman of ye houſe, and they of the female

kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forsene that all their gestures and behauours be marked and obserued abrode of them by whose authority and discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligently see vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge ioyned together, they should passe ouer yat time in childish wantonnes, wherin they ought principally to conceaue a religious and deuote feare towardes god : which is the chiefe and almost ye only incitation to vertu. They kill no luing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geuen liffe to beastes to the intent they should liue. They burne franc-
Ceremonies.
kensence, and other sweet sauours, and light also a greate nombre of waxe candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing auayable to the diuine nature, as neither ye prayers of men. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleafeth them. And by thies sweete sauours and lightes, and other such ceremonies men feele themselves secretlye lifted vp, and encouraged to deuotion with more willynge and feruent hertes. The people wearethe in the churche white apparell, The priest is clothed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workmanshipe bee excellent, but in stiffe not verye pretious. For theire vestimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and conningelye with diuers fethers of foules, that the estimation of no costly stiffe is hable to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is obserued in theire setting, they saye, is conteyned certaine diuine misteries. The interpretation whereof knownen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them : and of the loue and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God : and also of their deuties one towarde another. When the priest first

commeth out of the vestry thus apparellled, they fali downe incontinent euerye one reuerentlye to the ground, with so still silence on euerye part, that the very fassion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they haue lien a litle space on the ground, the priest geuethe them a signe for to ryse. Then they sing prayses vnto God, whiche they intermixt with Theire churche musike strumentes of musicke, for the mooste parte of other fassions then these that we vse in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours kee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceeding farre beyonde vs. For all their musike bothe that they playe vpon strumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so ressemble and expreise naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agieable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a ditty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger; the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in Prayers woordes, expreflye pronounced, so made that euerye man maye priuately applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers euerye man recognisethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, and the principal caufe of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaued at his hande. But namelye that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is mooste happye and welthye, and hathe chosen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be mooste true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desierethe him that he wyl of his goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one that

is ready too followe what way soeuer he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, and his cwne religioun most true and perfecte, then he defyrethe GOD to gyue hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, and too bryng all other people to the same ordre of lyuynge, and to the same opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge that in this diuersitye of religions dothe delite his vnfercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late that he dare not affynge or determine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his maiesties pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyuing in worldyel prosperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is said they fal doun to the ground again and a lytle after they ryfe vp and go to dinner. And the refydewe of the daye they passe ouer in playes, and exercise of cheualrye

Nowe I haue declared and described vnto you, as truelye as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my iudgment is not only the beste, but also that which alone of good right maye claime and take vpon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But euery man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Here where nothinge is priuate, the commen affaires bee earnestlye loked vpon. And truely on both partes they haue good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterue for hon ger, onles he make some feuerall prouision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe floryshe neuer so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of verye necessitie to haue regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to faye, to other. Contrarywyse there where all thinges be commen to euery man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lacke anye thinge necessary for his priuate vses: so that the commen store houses and bernes be sufficienlye stored.

For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe forte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And thoughte no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyue ioyfully and merely, without al grieve and pensifenes : Not caring for his owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge pouertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his daughters dowrey ? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuing and wealthe of themselfes and al theirs, of theire wyfes, theire chyldren, theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren, and all the succeſſion that euer shall followe in theire posterite. And yet besydes this there is no leſſe prouision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I fee, yf anye man dare bee fo bolde as to compare with this equytie, the iustice of other nations. Among whom, I forſake God, if I can fynde any ſigne or token of equitie and iuſtice. For what iuſtice is this, that a ryche goldefſmythe, or an vſurer, or to bee ſhorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is ſuch, that it is not very neceſſary to the common wealth, ſhould haue a pleaſaunte and a welthie lyuinge, either by Idlenes, or by vneceſſarye busines : When in the meane tyme poore labouiers, carters, yronfmythes, carpenteis, and plowmen, by fo greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearinge beaſtes be ſkant hable to fufteine, and againe fo neceſſary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endue one yere, ſhould yet get fo harde and poore a lyuing, and lyue fo wretched and miſerable a lyfe, that the ſtate and condiſion of the labouringe beaſtes maye ſeme muſche better and welthier ? For they be not put to ſoo continual labour, nor theire lyuinge is not muſche worfe, yea to them muſche pleaſaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane ſeafon for the tyme to come. But theſe ſeilye poore wretches be preſently tormented

with barreyne and vnfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of theirre poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them vp. For theirre dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche leffe it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an vniust and an vnkynnde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmythes, and to fuche other, whiche be either ydle perfones, or els onlye flatterers, and deuyfers of vayne pleasures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, cohars, laborers, carters, yronsmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealthe can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of theirre lusty and flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age and fyckenes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettynge theirre so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembryng theirre so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth and acquyteth them moste vnkynndly with myserable death. And yet besydes this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but also by commen lawes do euery day pluck and snatche awaie from the poore some parte of their daily liuing. So where as it seemed before vniuste to recompense with vnkynndes their paynes that haue bene beneficall to the publique weale, nowe they haue to this theirre wrong and vniuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geuen the name of iustice, yea and that by force of a law. Therfore when I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do florish, so god helpe me, I can perceave nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theirre owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth. They inuent and deuise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare or lesing, that they haue vniustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the worke and laboure of the poore for as litle money as may be. These deuises, when the

riche men haue decreed to be kept and obserued vnder
coloure of the communaltie, that is to saye, also of the
pore people, then they be made lawes. But these most
wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their vnsati-
able couetousnes deuided among them selues al those
thinges, whiche woulde haue sufficed all men, yet how
faire be they from the wealth and felicitie of the Uto-
Contempte of pian commen wealth? Out of the which,
Money in that all the desire of money with the
vse thereof is vtterly secluded and banished, howe
greate a heape of cares is cut away? How great an
occasion of wickednes and mischiefe is plucked vp by
ye rotes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft,
rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, striffe, chiding,
contention, murder, treason, porofing, which by daily
punishementes are rather reuenged then refrained, do
dye when money dieth. And also that feare, grieve,
care, laboures, and watchinges do perish euen the very
same moment that money perisheth? Yea pouerty it
selfe, which only femed to lacke money, if money
were gone, it also would decrease and vanishe away
And that you may perceave this more plainly, consider
with your selfes some barein and vnfruteful yeare,
wherin manye thousandes of people haue starued for
hunger: I dare be bolde to say, yat in the end of that
penury so much corne or grain might haue bene
found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched,
as being diuided among them whome famine and
pestilence then consumed, no man at al should haue
felt that plague and penuri. So easely might men
gette their liuing, if that same worthye prynceffe lady
money did not alone stop vp the waye betwene vs
and our lyuing, which a goddes name was very
excellently deuised and inuented, that by her the
way therto should be opened. I am fewer the ryche
men perceave this, nor they be not ignoraunte how
much better it were too lacke noo necessarye thing,
then to abunde with ouermuche superfluite: to be ryd
oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be be-

feiged and encombed with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the respecte of euery mans priuate commoditie, or els the authority of oure fauoure Christe (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnes could not but counsele to that which he knew to be best) wold haue brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it wer not ^{A maruelous} ~~saynge~~ ^{Pryde.} one only beast, ye princesse and mother of all mischefe Pride, doth withstande and let it. She measurethe not wealth and prosperity by her owne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be made a goddeffe, yf there were no wretches left, ouer whom she might like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph, ouer whose miseries her felicities myghte shyne, whose pouertie she myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by gorgiouflye fettynge furthe her richeffe. Thys hell hounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be plucked out. This fourme and fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wish vnto al nations. I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which haue folowed those institutions of life, whereby they haue laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal continew and last not only wealthely, but also as far as mans wit may iudge and conjecture, shall endure for euer. For, seyng the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of domisticall diffention, whiche alone hathe caste vnder foote and brought to noughe the well fort[1]sied and stronglie defenced wealth and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and wholsome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or moue the emprise, though they haue many tymes long agoone about to do it, beyng euermore driuen backe.

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reasoun, not onely in the fashion of their cheualry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinances, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and liuyng, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourshippe, honour, and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, vterlye be ouerthrownen and destroied: yet because I knew that he was wary of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thynge shoulde be fayde agaist hys mynde: speciallye remembryng that he had reprehended this faulfe in other, which he aferde lest they shoulde seeme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inuentions: therfore I prasing both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper: fayinge that we woulde chuse an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he faide, beyng els without doubt a man singularely well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundely experienced: so must I nedes confess and graunt

that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke
of Raphael Hythlodaye concer-
ning the lawes and instituti-
ons of the Ilande
of Utopia.

To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost Arienn, and counselloure
to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles,
Cithem of Antwerpe, wisheth health
and felicite.

Tomas More the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslide) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel knownen, sent vnto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knownen, but most worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealth, all people shoulde be willinge to know: specially of a man most eloquent so finely set furth, so conningly painted out, and so euidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somwhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke a swell as master More) vtteryng and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appeare, to reporte not thinges, which he had learned of others onely by heariesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene, and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no smal time bene conuersant and abiding: a man trulie, ir mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experiance, muche passinge, yea euen they very famous and renoumed traualier Vlysses: and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. c. [eight hundred] yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not futh hislike: in compaiison of whome Vespuce maye be thought to haue sene nothing. Moreouer, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expresse thinges that we haue sene, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discriue and set furth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and con-

sider them drawen and painted oute with master Mores penfile, I am therwith so moued, so delited, so inflamed, and so rapt, that sometime me think I am preſently conuersaunt, euen in the ylande of Utopia. And I pro-mife you, I can ſkante beleue that Raphael himſelfe by al that fife yeres ſpace that he was in Utopia abiding, ſaw there ſomuch, as here in master Mores deſcription is to be ſene and perceaued. Whiche deſcription with ſo manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is repleniſhed, that I ſtande in great doubt wherat firſt and chieflie to muſe or marueile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and fuer memorie, which could welnigh worde by woordre rehearſe ſo manye thinges once onely heard: or elles at his ſingular prudence, who ſo well and wittyly marked and bare away al the originall cauſes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commenly moſt vñknownen) wherof both yſſueth and ſpringeth the mortall conuſion and vitter decaye of a commen wealth, and alſo the auauncement and wealthy ſtate of the fame may rieſe and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of his woordes, which in ſo fine a latin ſtyle, with fuche force of eloquence hath couched together and com-priſed ſo many and diuers matters, ſpeciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with ſo manye buſy and troubleſome cares, both publique, and priuate, as he is. Howbeit all theſe thinges cauſe you hitle to maruell (righte honourable Buſlid) for that you are familiarie and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almoſt diuine witte of the man. But nowe to proceſe to other matters, I fuerly know nothing nedeful or re-quife to be adioyned vnto his writings: Onely a meter of iij verſes written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after master Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce ſhewed me, that haue I cauſed to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the fame nation, and haue alſo garniſhed the margent of the boke with cer-ten notes. For, as touchinge the ſituacion of the ylande, that is to ſaye, in what parte of the worlde Utopia ſtandeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof noſ

a litle troubleth and greueth master More. in dede Raphael left not that vnspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by ye way paffing it ouer, as meanyng of likelhod to kepe and referue that to an other place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie chaunce escaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Mores seruautes came to him, and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippesborde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer stynte, nor rest, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof. insomuche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the iust latitude therof, that is to say, in the subleuation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie, and aliue. For we heare very vncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney homewarde. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his countrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether set and fixed vpon Utopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient cosmographers, this doubte Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolued. For why it is possible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they neuer had knowledge of this land: forasmuch as now in our time diuers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were vnkownen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seyngemaster More is author hereof sufficient? Butwhereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, indeede herein I both commende, and also knowledge the

mannes modestie. Howbeit vnto me it semeth a worke
most vneworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy
to go abrod into ye handes of men, yea, and vnder the title
of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde: either
because the singular endowmentes and qualities of
master More be to no man better knownen then to you,
or els because no man is more fitte and meete, then
you with good counselfes to further, and auaunce the
commen wealth, wherin you haue many yeares already
continued and traualied with great glory and commendation,
bothe of wisedome and knowledge, and also
of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberall suppor-
ter of good learninge, and floure of this ure time

I byd you moste hartely well to fare. At

Antwerpe .1516. the first daye of

Nouember

A meter of .iiiij. verses in the Utopian
tongue, briefly touchinge aswell the straunge
beginning, as also the happie and wealthie
continuance of the same common
wealthe.

V *Topos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.*
Bargol he maglomi Baccan foma g ymnosophaon
Agrama g ymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme paglom.

¶ Whiche verses the translator, accordeinge to his
simple knowledge, and meane vnderstanding in the
Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely englisched.

M Y kinge and conquerour Utopus by name
 A prince of much renowme and immortall fame
 Hath made me an yle that earst no ylande was,
 Ful fiaight with worldly welth with pleasure and folas.
 I one of all other without philosophie
 Haue shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
 As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte,
 So better to receaue I am readie with al my harte.

C A shorte meter of *Utopia*, written by *Ane-*
molius poete laureate, and nephewe to
Pythodaye by his sister.

ME *Utopie* cleded *Antiquitie*,
Voyde of haunte and herborough,
*Nowe am I like to *Platoes* citie*,
Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.
Yea like, or rather more likely
**Platoes* platte to excell and passe*
*For what *Platoes* penne hathe platted briefely*
In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
The fame haue I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treasure fytely.
*Wherfore not *Utopie*, but rather rightely*
*My name is *Eutopie*: A place of felicitie*.

C *Gerarde Nouiomage of Utopia.*

Doth pleasure please? then place the here, and
 well the rest,
 Most plefaunt pleasures thou shalte finde here.
 Doeth profit easie? then here arriue, this yle is best.
 For passinge profettes do here appeare.
 Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both
 gaine and pleasure?
 This yle is fraught with both bounteously.
 To still thy gredie intent, reapre here incomparable treas-
 Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe richelie. [ue
 The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
 Thou hast them here subiect vnto thine eye.
 Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
 Geue to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

C *Cornelius Graphey to Reader.*

Vilt thou knowe what wonders straunge be in the
 lande that late was founde? [godly be?
 Wilte thou learne thy life to leade, by diuers ways that
 Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstande the very
 grounde? [vanitie?
 Wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is of

Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy
behoufe, as thou maie best.
All thinges that in this present worke, that worthie
clerke sir Thomas More,
With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the worlde hath
plaine exprest,
In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and
for godly lore.

¶ The Printer to the Reader.

 He Vtopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche
in the aboue written Epistle is promised,
hereunto I haue not now adioyned, because
I haue not as yet the true characters or four-
mes of the Utopiane letters. And no mar-
ueill: seyng it is a tongue to vs muche straunger then the
Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyp-
tian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the ciprian, the
Scythian etc. Which tonges though they be nothing so
straunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters
we haue not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression
hereof, to perfourme that, whiche nowe I can not: that is
to faye: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee
the Utopian Alphabete. In the
meane time accept my good
wyl. And so fare well.

¶ Imprinted at London in Pau-
les Churche yarde, at the sygne of the
Lambe, by Abraham Neale.

M.D.LVI.